

**THE DURATION AND POLITICAL NATURE
OF THE INCA EMPIRE**

ROBERT BARKER

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**THE DURATION AND POLITICAL
NATURE OF THE INCA EMPIRE**

Robert Barker

**With a Foreword by
Stephen M. Hart**

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Abstract

The major research problem I have addressed in this thesis concerns the level of accuracy present in the various accounts of the history of the Inca Empire, as provided by chroniclers such as Cieza de León (1553),¹ Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572),² Zárate (1555),³ Betanzos (1551),⁴ and Cabello de Balboa (1602-03),⁵ the *visitas* (visits to a particular area) such as that recorded by Ortiz (1562),⁶ the *probanzas* (legal documents), *pleitos* (Indians suing *comenderos* for rights of land), historians' records such as those of Markham⁷ and Means,⁸ the accounts by ethno-historians such as Rowe,⁹ Rostworowski,¹⁰ Murra,¹¹

¹ Pedro Cieza de León, *El señorío de los incas* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1976).

² Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Segunda parte de la historia general llamada Indica* (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Emecé, 1942).

³ Agustín Zárate, *Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1853), Vol. 25.

⁴ Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y Narración de los Incas*, ed. Poaria del Carmen Martín Rubio (Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1987).

⁵ Miguel Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica: una historia del Perú antiguo* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos 1951).

⁶ Iñigo Ortiz de Zuñiga, *Visita de la provincia de León de Huánuco*, ed. J.V. Murra (Huánuco: Universidad Hermelio Valdizan, 1972).

⁷ Clements Markham, *The Incas of Peru* (London: Thomas and Hudson, 1912).

⁸ Philip Ainsworth Means, *Biblioteca Andina: Part One: The Chroniclers, or, the Writers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries Who Treated the Pre-Hispanic History and Culture of the Andean Countries, Vol 29* (Connecticut: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1928).

⁹ John Howland Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area', *American Antiquity*, 10.3 (1945), 265-84.

Wedin,¹² Pease,¹³ and Hiltunen,¹⁴ and the data collected by Late Horizon archaeologists such as Rowe and Menzel,¹⁵ D'Altroy and Hastorf,¹⁶ Kendall,¹⁷ Niles¹⁸ and Julien.¹⁹ Based on various colonial documents describing Inca

¹⁰ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras andinas del poder: ideología religiosa y política* (Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, IEP, 1983).

¹¹ John V. Murra, 'Las investigaciones en etnohistoria andina y sus posibilidades en el futuro', in *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975).

¹² Ake Wedin, *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes, Estudio crítico* (Uppsala: Historica Gothoburguensia VII, 1966).

¹³ Franklin G.Y. Pease, *Las fuentes del siglo XVI y la formación del Tawantinsuyo*. In *Del Tawantinsuyo a la historia del Peru*, (Lima: Historia Andina 5, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978).

¹⁴ Juha Hiltunen, *Ancient Kings of Perú, The Reliability of the Chronicle of Fernando Montesinos: Correlating the Dynasty Lists with Current Prehistoric Periodization in the Andes*, Helsinki, in <http://www.lib.helsinki.fi/hiltunen.html>, consulted in January 1999.

¹⁵ John H. Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, *Peruvian Archaeology. Stages and Periods an Archaeological Interpretation* (Palo Alto, California: Peek Publications, 1967).

¹⁶ Terence D'Altroy and Christine A. Hastorf, 'The Distribution and Contentsof Inca State Storehouses in the Xauxa Region of Peru', *American Antiquity*, 49.2 (1984), 334-49.

¹⁷ Anne Kendall, *Aspects of Inca Architecture – Description, Function, and Chronology*, British Archeological Reports, International Series, no. 421 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 2 vols.

¹⁸ Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999).

¹⁹ Catherine J. Julien, *Hatunqolla. A View of Inca Rule from the Lake Titicaca Region* (Berkeley: Publications in Anthropology, University of California Press, 1983), vol 15. See also *Reading Inca History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000).

history, it is claimed by Rowe²⁰ and subsequently Rostworowski²¹ – and a number of others – that the Inca had settled in the Cuzco region circa 1250 AD and that their empire was forged and consolidated in less than seventy years.²² It is apparent, however, that this claim can be challenged in three ways: by careful analysis of the chronicles, by reappraising the documentation of the ethno-historians, and by reassessing the archaeological evidence. I shall argue that the consolidation of the Inca Empire took considerably longer than has thus far been acknowledged.

The core of my research seeks to explore and re-evaluate many of the influential factors which contributed to fundamental discrepancies in accepted interpretations of Inca history. Essential to the content of my thesis is the view that an important part of the problem leading to the many differing conclusions concerning Inca history lies in the way in which the documentary evidence has been assembled (methods of historiography), often with disregard for the socio-political and religious contexts in which such 'historic-laden' texts were constructed by and for Inca and /or Spanish colonial officials and clergy. In order to interpret the various historic documentary evidences and to better assess its value, it has been an essential part of my work to determine who wrote what, for whom it was written, why it

²⁰ John H Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area', *American Antiquity*, 10.3 (1945), 265-84.

²¹ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras andinas del poder: ideología religiosa y política* (Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, IEP, 1983).

²² María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu* (Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988), pp. 96-97.

was written, and who benefited in any way from its being written. Furthermore, I will assess the effects that special interest groups may have had when constructing – and therefore, to an extent, fabricating – Inca history.

In part, the conflict evident in current views is most likely to spring from the inadequate handling of the context in which these documents emerged, that is to say the many different ways in which representations of the Inca past are articulated. In order to address this hermeneutical discrepancy I have conducted a comparative analysis of the relevant Inca/colonial ethno-historical documentation, in particular that of Rowe,²³ Rostworowski,²⁴ Pease,²⁵ and Pärssinen.²⁶ I have also made an independent assessment of the existing archaeological evidence, with special reference to the cases of Jauja via D'Altroy²⁷ and Chincha via Menzel.²⁸

²³ John H Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area', *American Antiquity*, 10.3 (1945), 265-84.

²⁴ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras andinas del poder: ideología religiosa y política* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, IEP, 1983).

²⁵ Franklin G.Y. Pease, *Los Incas* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1991).

²⁶ Martti Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu: The Inca State and its Political Organization* (Helsinki: Societas Historica Finlandiae, 1992)

²⁷ Terence N. D'Altroy, *Provincial Power in the Inka Empire* (Washington, D.C: Smithsonian, 1992).

²⁸ Dorothy Menzel, 'The Inca Conquest of the South Coast of Peru', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 15 (1959), 125-42.

Foreword by Stephen M. Hart

Dr Robert Barker's book, **The Duration and Political Nature of the Inca Empire**, offers a detailed analysis of the early accounts of the history of the Inca empire, as provided by chroniclers such as Cieza de Leon, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Zarate, Betanzos, and Cabello de Balboa, as seen through the eyes of modern historians, archaeologists and ethno-historians such as Markham, Means, Rowe, Rostworowski, Murra, Wedin, Pease, Hiltunen, Menzel, D'Altroy & Hastorf, Kendall, Miles and Julien. By offering a fresh new analysis of these accounts, and comparing the import of these accounts as set against the archaeological evidence, Dr Barker sets out to prove that the consolidation of the Inca Empire took considerably longer than has thus far been acknowledged. Bearing down on Rowe's chronology, he demonstrates that the figures just do not add up and - based on the description of Incan historiography contained in chroniclers such as Cieza de Leon in particular who shows how 'unsuccessful' Inca kings (namely those who had failed to expand the Empire) were excised from the national record - he proposes to find the 'desaparecidos' of the Inca hierarchy, and he identifies three new individuals who, he suggests, are examples of 'unsuccessful' kings who were expunged from national memory. This allows him to propose a new chronological schema for the expansion of the Inca Empire which - as it were in the manner of an accordion - stretches out Rowe's chronology. The conclusion is sensitive to the evolving nature of evidence in the social sciences: This thesis is not an attempt to find the meaning of "true history" but a resource for continuing research on the evolution of the Inca

empire and, in particular, the creation of chronology and genealogy of the Inca dynasty.' Ambitious and well-researched, Dr Barker's thesis provides an invigoratingly radical new interpretation of the history of the Inca Empire.

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Chapter 1: J.H. Rowe's Chronological Hypothesis and its Legacy

Based upon some colonial documents recounting Inca history, including Betanzos (1551),²⁹ Cieza de León (1553),³⁰ Polo de Ondegardo (1559),³¹ Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572)³² and Cabello de Balboa (1602-1603)³³ a number of prominent ethno-historians such as John Howland Rowe, Dorothy Menzel and María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco have claimed that the Inca ethnic group settled in the Cuzco region in around AD 1250 and that their empire was forged and consolidated in less than 70 years³⁴. The texts central to this interpretation are the highly influential arguments drawn up by Rowe in four major

²⁹ Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los Incas*, ed. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1880).

³⁰ Pedro Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas*, in *Crónica del Perú. El Señorío de los Incas*, ed. Franklin Pease G.Y. (Caracas: Ayacucho, 2005), pp. 301-459.

³¹ Juan Polo de Ondegardo, *Los errores y supersticiones de los indios*, sacados del tratado y averiguación que hizo el licenciado Polo (Lima: Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la historia del Perú, 1916).

³² Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia de los Incas*, ed. Angel Rosenblat (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, S.A., 1943), 2nd edition.

³³ Miguel Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica: una historia del Perú antiguo* (Lima: Universidad Mayor de San Marcos, 1951).

³⁴ The term 'Inca Empire's is used in this thesis to refer to the territories conquered by the Incas stretching from the north of present-day Ecuador to the south of present-day Chile and Argentina. The term 'Inca' refers to the ethic group which occupied these territories as well, in a technical sense, to the sovereign or king that ruled these lands.

publications.³⁵ As I shall be arguing in this chapter, Rowe's claim can be questioned in three ways: (i) by careful analysis of the chronicles, (ii) by re-appraising the documentation provided by the ethno-historians; and (iii) by re-assessing the archaeological evidence. The consolidation of the Inca Empire, as I shall propose, took longer than has been previously acknowledged. The core of the research presented in this thesis focuses on exploring and studying the factors and reasons that underpinned this fundamental controversy in Inca historical studies. In this study I suggest that the resulting discrepancies of interpretation have arisen largely due to the inconsistencies of approach in the assembly of documentary material, and the disregard of both the socio-political and religious contexts in which such 'historic-laden' texts were constructed by and for Inca and/or Spanish colonial officials and clergy.

The essence of John Howland Rowe's thesis is contained within his short but highly influential article 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area' published in 1945.³⁶ One of the main aims of this article is to question the chronology of the Inca kings as proposed by Philip Ainsworth Means in his study, *Ancient Civilizations of the*

³⁵ John H. Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Museum, 1944); 'Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest', *South American Ethnology*, 143.2 (1946); 'Inka Politics and Institutions Relating to the Cultural Unification of the Empire', in *The Inca and Aztec States*, eds G. Collier, R. Rosaldo and J. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982); 'What Kind of Settlement was Inka Cuzco?' *Nawpa Pacha*, 5 (1967).

³⁶ 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area', *American Antiquity*, 10.3 (1945), 265-84.

Andes (1931).³⁷ Basing his work principally on El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales* (1609), Means had proposed the following dates for the twelve Inca Kings:

1. Manco Capac (began reign in 945 A.D.; Means, p. 217)³⁸
2. Sinchi Roca (c. 1105-1140; Means, p. 223)
3. Lloque Yupanqui (c. 1140-1195; Means, p. 226)
4. Mayta Capac (c. 1195-1230; Means, p. 228)
5. Capac Yupanqui (c. 1230—1250; Means, p. 231)
6. Inca Roca (c. 1250-1315; Means, p. 237)
7. Yahuar Huaca (c. 1315-1347; Means, p. 242)
8. Viracocha (c. 1347-1400; Means, p. 247)
9. Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui (c. 1400-1448; Means, p. 253)
10. Topa Inca Yupanqui (c. 1448-1482; Means, p. 264)

³⁷ *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931).

³⁸ The difference of 150 years between Manco Capac and Sinchi Roca in Means's chronology is created by Means's partial use of Cabello's chronology (see below, p. 13). By bringing Sinchi Roca's reign forward while leaving Manco Capac's dates more or less intact as in Cabello's chronology, Means produces a flaw in his own chronological system.

11. Huayna Capac (c. 1482-1529; Means, p. 273)

12. Huascar and Atahualpa (1529-1532; Means, p. 277)

One innovation introduced by Means into the analysis of the genealogy of the Inca Kings was his distinction between what he called the Toledan School and the Garcilasan School, the latter whom sought inspiration in the work of probably the most famous of the chroniclers, Garcilaso de la Vega. Means's perspective is worth quoting at this point:

The Chroniclers of Peru fall, for the most part, into two groups or 'schools', the one being that which I have called the Toledan School, the other the Garcilasan School. The former might equally be dubbed the Discouragistic or Denigratory school, for, under the guidance of Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo, in the 1570s, it became the official version of Inca history, its chief purpose being to display the Inca dynasty before the world as a line of usurpers, tyrants, and murderers. The underlying objective of this school was to justify the establishment of Castilian power in the Andean area and elsewhere in America, this end to be served by showing the Incas to have been bastards and usurpers whom Charles I and Philip II of Castile, descendants of those questionable sovereigns, Sancho IV and Henry II of

Castile, had every right to supersede, not only because they were so much superior in their hereditary right to rule, but also because America was only a fitting reward for the services rendered to God during the eight centuries of the Reconquest in Spain, and also because Alexander VI – that holy pontiff – had given them the right. (Means, pp. 205-06)

J.H. Rowe took exception to Means's perspective and argued that it had two serious 'faults' as follows:

(a) In determining which Inca conquered any given part of the Andean area he follows Garcilaso de la Vega, a seventeenth-century chronicler who contradicts all earlier writers on this point; (b) his estimates of the duration of each Inca's reign are merely averages of all previous modern guesses and ignore better sixteenth century material. (Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology', p. 266)

He, furthermore, rejected not only Means's division of the chroniclers into two groups, the Garcilasans and the Toledans, but he also considered as unimportant Means's view that 'the Garcilasan school described the formation of the Inca Empire as a gradual process, while the Toledans put all the Inca conquests in the last four reigns' (Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology', p. 268). The important point, as Rowe argued, was whether it could be argued that the Incas had conquered territory more than about fifty miles from Cuzco at the beginning of Pachacuti's reign. He went on to argue that the chroniclers should be classified by listing them under their 'Yes' or 'No' answers to this question,

based on their testimony. Rowe reaches the following conclusions based on this poll, and he added the date of composition of the texts in each case, in order to ascertain whether it was a relevant factor:

No	Yes
Betanzos, 1551	Murúa, 1590-1605
Cieza, 1553	Fray Antonio, 1608
Polo de Ondegardo, 1561, 1571	Garcilaso, 1609
Las Casas, before 1561	Guaman Poma, 1613
Fernandez, 1571	Vázquez de Espinosa, 1629
Sarmiento, 1572	Oliva, 1631
Román y Zamora, 1575	Calancha, 1638
Molina, 1579	Montesinos, before 1644
Cabello de Balboa, 1586	
Acosta, 1590	
Pachacuti, early seventeenth century	
Ramos Gavilán, 1621	
Cobo, 1653	(Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology', p. 269)

Rowe went on to argue that the chroniclers in the 'no' list 'agree remarkably closely on all details that affect chronology' while the chroniclers on the 'yes' list do not 'give nearly so consistent a story' (Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology', p. 269). This led Rowe to reject the testimony of the chroniclers on the 'Yes' list, which allowed him to express agreement with those historians who have seen the expansion of the Inca Empire as occurring rapidly and in the

reign of the last four Inca Kings. He argued that Means's classification of the chroniclers into a Garcilasan and a Toledan School is 'not of much use', and since – in his view – he had now disproved Means's chronology, he set out to provide a new chronology of the Inca Kings. Rowe chose the later dates of Cabello de Balboa's schema, and he proposed the following dates as 'the most plausible ones we have or, indeed, are every likely to have'. The crucial dates are as follows:

Viracocha deposed	1438
Pachacuti ruled	1438-1471 (33 years)
Topa Inca took command	1463
Topa Inca ruled	1471-1493 (22 years)
Chile conquered	1473
Huayna Capac ruled	1493-1525 (32 years)
Huascar ruled	1525-1532 (7 years)

(Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology', p. 277)

Rowe's conclusion is that, though 'for the earliest Incas, it would be better not to guess at all', it is possible to 'calculate the approximate date of the founding of Cuzco by assuming that each Inca reigned about twenty-five years' (Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology', p. 277). His argument, therefore, is that 'the Inca conquest took place up to 250 years later than Means suggests and that, therefore, all archaeological dates must be moved up a corresponding number of years' (p. 266). Rowe fleshes out the argument towards the end of his essay:

The balance of historical probability and of the available historical evidence favors the reduced chronology discussed in this paper. Means felt that Garcilaso gave a more 'rationalistic' account of the rise of the Inca Empire than, for example, did Sarmiento; it seemed to him more likely that such an empire should have been built up slowly than that it should have developed in a short space of time under a few rules. Actually, however, Garcilaso's description of the gradual character of Inca conquests is extremely improbable and would provide grounds for suspecting his account even if there were not such a mass of independent testimony against it. In a state ruled as autocratically as was the Inca Empire, a long process of gradual expansion implies a long line of unusually competent rulers, and the slightest examination of the history of other dynasties makes it very clear that a succession of more than two or three rulers is a very rare occurrence. A series of twelve rules of the caliber described by Garcilaso is fantastic. It was perhaps more difficult in the ayllus before the blitzkrieg to understand how a small but efficient army could overrun vast areas and apparently powerful states quickly, and with little opposition; now, unfortunately, it is very much easier to believe that Topa

Inca could have overrun the whole mountain region between Quito and central Chile in thirty years of campaigning. (Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology', pp. 280-81)

Rowe's argument, as expressed in the 1945 article, builds on some of the points of his 1944 book, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, in which he had voiced similar concerns about Means's deduction:

Incas preserved the names of twelve generations of rulers, going back to frankly legendary beginnings, and the list was independently collected by a number of conscientious historians of the sixteenth century. The date of about 1200 A.D. for the foundation of Cuzco that was given in the introduction is a plausible compromise between two different methods of the turning this genealogy into years. Twelve generations at three to a century (the general accepted average) give the Inca dynasty duration of four hundred years, or say 1130-1530. On the other hand, four reigns to a century is an unusually long average for dynasties in other parts of the world, and this average would give the Incas three hundred years, or 1230-1530. Hence my compromise on 1200.³⁹

³⁹ John H. Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco* (Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum, 1944), p. 57. For a map of what the Inca Empire looked like in 1530, see Figure on p. 79.

This is a logical conclusion if one accepts that there were only twelve Incas, although it is important to raise at this point the hypothesis that there were more than twelve Incas, and that the number twelve was simply used in order to echo the twelve biblical tribes of Israel,⁴⁰ which is to recognize that the number twelve is an *a priori* premise rather than a *post facto* deduction.

According to Rowe, Garcilaso de la Vega was wrong about the gradual expansion of the Inca Empire. Rowe argues that Means' deduction of a gradual expansion, which in his opinion was based on the chronicle by Garcilaso de la Vega, was also wrong. He, furthermore, argued that Garcilaso was the only chronicler to suggest this. However, most of the indigenous or *mestizo* chroniclers, like Santa Cruz de Pachacuti Yamqui and Guaman Poma de Ayala, pointed to some form of gradual expansion. Rowe, however, appeared not to be aware of this fact since his arguments was as follows:

Nearly all modern historians of the Inca since Mariano Rivero have attempted to give approximate dates for each ruler of the Inca line, and students can perhaps be excused for being puzzled that all should be so precise and yet no two lists are alike. The truth is that none of these lists has the slightest historical foundation. Only two of the chroniclers give dates for the Incas: Sarmiento de Gamboa and Cabello de Balboa, who used

⁴⁰ Bernabé Cobo [1653], *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1964).

Sarmiento's material. Sarmiento's dates are so obviously exaggerated that they are universally rejected, and Cabello Balboa's different sets appear at first glance to be no better. Modern date lists, then, are modern inventions. The most widely accepted of them all, that of Means, is the quintessence of invention, for it is an average of all previous modern lists.

We can do better than that. Let us examine for a moment the two sixteenth century lists:

	Sarmiento (1572)	Cabello (1586)
Manco Capac	565-665	945-1006
Sinchi Roca	665-785	1006-1083
Lloqui Yupanqui	786-890	1161-1226
Capac Yupanqui	890-980	1226-1306
Inca Roca	980-1088	1306-1356
Yahuar Huaccac	1088-1184	1356-1386
Viracocha	1184-1285	1386-1438
Pachacuti	1285-1388	1438-1471
Topa Inca	1388-1455	1471-1493
Huayna Capac	1455-1515	1493-1525

Sarmiento's list is indeed impossible. The first nine kings are all given a reign of over

ninety years, and even the last two reigns are over sixty. Cabello's list, while not quite so exaggerated, starts off by being equally improbable the first six reigns are all over fifty years long. The seventh is only thirty, but the eighth is over fifty again. The last three reigns, however, are long but perfectly possible: thirty-three, twenty-two, and thirty-two years, respectively.⁴¹

The reader is tempted to agree with Rowe on this point since the number of years set for each Inca verges on the ludicrous. Even if one were to accept a reign of this length, it stretches the bounds of possibility to suggest that the son also enjoyed such a long reign.⁴² However, this leads to another possible conclusion i.e. that that there were several Incas missing from the list – an idea which will be pursued in this thesis – but, for the time being, let us return to Rowe's argument. As Rowe continues:

For several reasons it is likely that the last three of Cabello's sets of dates are not far from the truth, even if the earlier ones are exaggerated. The history of these last three reigns is preserved in great detail by several chroniclers, for it was Pachacuti, Topa Inca and Huayna Capac who conquered nearly the whole area of the Inca Empire as it was in 1530 and the time allotted by Cabello is not

⁴¹ John Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, p. 58.

⁴² John Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, p. 58

too great for the events it covered. Other chroniclers who do not give dates say or imply that these three reigns were long. The three reigns were also recent enough so that it could have been possible to get more accurate dates for them than for the earlier ones by questioning aged Indians. And we have a piece of corroborative evidence from Cieza, who wrote in 1551: 'It may be imagined how recent these (kings) were, for the kingdom is still full of Indians who knew Topa Inca Yupanqui, and went with him to the wars; and who heard from their fathers what Inca Yupanqui (Pachacuti) did in the days of his rule.' In other words, in 1551 there were still veterans of Topa Inca's campaigns living, but the men who remembered Pachacuti's were already dead.⁴³

Rowe implies here that the conquest and consolidation of the Empire took place during the reigns of the last three Incas. He also states that other chroniclers agree that the last three reigns were long. However, if one considers the fact that Pachacutec's reign lasted approximately thirty-three years, according to Cabello's list, and the other two twenty and thirty-two years respectively, we might accept that the latter two are reasonable periods of government. In Rowe's view, however, it is Means's misinterpretation of the role played by Pachacutec which leads to the flawed nature of his overall schema.

⁴³ John Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, p. 58.

It is clear, firstly, that the version of Inca history espoused by Means in setting up his chronology is substantially that provided by Garcilaso de la Vega. As mentioned above, Means classified the chroniclers into two groups, the 'Garcilasan School' (which maintained that the Inca Empire was characterised by gradual expansion over an extended period of time) and the 'Toledan School' (which argued that the Inca Empire grew rapidly, an expansion which was initiated in Pachacutec's reign). Means characterised Cabello de Balboa, Calancha, Cieza de León, Cobo, Garcilaso, Montesinos, Morúa and Román, as members of the Garcilasan School. While Acosta, Andagoya, Atienza, Betanzos, Las Casa, Fernández, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, López de Gomara, Matienzo, Molina of Santiago, Polo de Ondegardo, Santa Cruz de Pachacuti, Sarmiento, Toledo, and Zárate as members of the Toledan School.

Rowe, as noted above, rejected Means's black and white classification of the Peruvian chroniclers, and for good reason, since the division is not trustworthy since there was a great deal of intellectual osmosis between the two schools. Cabello de Balboa's history, for example, is in essence an expanded version of Sarmiento's – the similarities between them extending even to the use of the same wording – yet the two are placed in different groups. Rowe himself has pointed out that while Román appears in the master list as a member of the 'Garcilasan School', in the discussion he is referred to as a 'Toledan' chronicler.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ John H. Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, p. 58.

On the crucial chronological point as to when the Incas conquered the Titicaca Basin, there was, indeed, a great deal of diversity of opinion among the chroniclers. The following argue that it occurred during Pachacuti's reign: Betanzos (writing c. 1551), Cieza de León (1551-1553), Polo de Ondegardo (1561-1571), Las Casas (1561), Fernández (1571), Sarmiento (1572), Román (1572), Molina de Cuzco (1579), Cabello (1586), Acosta (1590), Santa Cruz de Pachacuti (early seventeenth century), and Cobo (1653).⁴⁵ It should be noted, though, that some of these writers do not make specific mention of the Titicaca area, but describe Inca conquests in such a way that the region in question could not have been conquered earlier than by Pachacuti. Two chroniclers suggest that the Incas conquered the Titicaca Basin during Sinchi Roca's reign, namely Garcilaso de la Vega (1608) and Guaman Poma de Ayala (1613), though on certain events these two accounts do not concur. One chronicler argues that the integration of the Titicaca Basin into the Inca Empire occurred during the reign of Capac Yupanqui and Yahuar Huaca (namely Fray Antonio, 1608) while Morúa (1590-1608) argues that this expansion occurred during Huayna Capac's reign.⁴⁶

It is worthwhile at this point noting that Rowe's argumentation with regard to the issue of the chronological order of the Inca Kings relies to some extent on archaeological evidence since he suggests that the 'available

⁴⁵ John H. Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, p. 59.

⁴⁶ For further discussion of the difference between the chroniclers on the issue of the expansion of the Inca Empire into the Titicaca basin, see John Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, pp. 57-59.

archaeological evidence is equally favourable to a shorter span for the Inca domination' (Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology', p. 281). Thus Rowe can deduce, based on his methodology, that the 'ninety-four years which Cabello allows between the accession of Pachacuti and the Spanish conquest is ample for all known constructions in Inca style, considering the numbers of skilled workmen available for public works under the Incas' (p. 281). Rowe employed a similar methodology in a number of his other studies, arguing, for example, in the context of the ceramic sequence in Ica, that 'precise relative dating is essential for sound cultural inference and the reconstruction of events'.⁴⁷ Through a process of cross-referencing them with previous cultures from the same locale, he derived two chronological tables, one for the Peruvian coast and one for the Peruvian sierra.⁴⁸ The valley sequence is then converted into the 'master' sequence to which all related dating in the whole of the Central Andes is referred.⁴⁹ The 'seriation' method was innovative in South America when Rowe first employed this methodology in the mid-1940s – i.e. before the discovery of empirically sound radio carbon dating. For Peru Rowe chose the valleys in Ica as the most convenient point of reference. Rowe was thereby able to conclude that the ceramic style, called *Tacarara A* by Dorothy Menzel, coincided in time with the beginning of the Inca conquest of this area, which

⁴⁷ John Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, 'Peruvian Archaeology', in *Stages and Periods: An Archaeological Interpretation* (Palo Alto, CA: Peek Publications, 1967), p. vii.

⁴⁸ John Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, 'Peruvian Archaeology', p. ix.

⁴⁹ John Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, 'Peruvian Archaeology', p. 9.

allowed him to propose a date of 1476 A.D. for the initiation of the Inca conquest.⁵⁰

But there was clearly a danger here that a chronological schema from one set of pieces of evidence (the historical texts) is being applied to another evidential set (the archaeological remains of Inca civilisation) in such a way as to risk the use of a circular and self-reflexive argument. I shall return to this question later on when the archaeological evidence is discussed in greater detail, but it is important to note at this juncture that Rowe is employing archaeological data as independent evidence with which to test his hypothesis about historical chronology in the chroniclers' texts. This is all the more significant because Rowe himself recognized the difficulties involved in the dating of archaeological evidence:

Dating, in South American archaeology, has always meant relative dating against an incomplete sequence of pottery types. The entire lack of absolute dates in the field is a serious handicap the moment one attempts to go beyond pottery to the cultural history of the Andean area. So far our only method of overcoming this handicap is to invent the missing dates more or less arbitrarily and assume them for the purpose of the argument. I have no method to suggest but would like to point out a few historical considerations, resulting from the work of Project Seven,

⁵⁰ John Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, 'Peruvian Archaeology', p. 10.

which favor the assumption of a set of dates somewhat different from those now in general use.⁵¹

Even Rowe's use of the distinctive terms 'period' and 'phase' became problematic when applied in a concrete sense. Thus when Rowe subdivided the earlier period of Nazca pottery, which ranged from 300 to 750 years in length, into eight Nazca ceramic styles, which he called 'phases' – he stated that the Late Horizon period only lasted 58 years, which is when he believed the Inca 'curacazco' to have expanded to become an empire – it soon became clear that there were a number of gaps in his chronology which were unexplained, as he himself was forced to admit, 'more precise archaeological associations are required to subdivide some of the longer gaps in this era'.⁵²

Clearly, Rowe's theory of stratification, seriation, period versus stage, relative versus absolute chronology have proved to be crucial to the evolution of ethno-historical theory.⁵³ His study, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco* (1944), was highly influential in its day, as was his application of the principles of seriation and association to

⁵¹ John Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum, 1944), p. 56.

⁵² John Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, 'Peruvian Archaeology', p. 11.

⁵³ For a discussion of the difference between stage and period in archaeological theory see his essay, 'Stages and Periods in Archaeological Interpretation', in *Peruvian Archaeology: Selected Readings*, eds John Howland Rowe & Dorothy Menzel (Palo Alto, CA: Peek Publications, 1967), pp. 1-15.

Latin American archaeology.⁵⁴ But what is at issue in this chapter is the degree to which Rowe's thesis – expressed most pithily in the sentence 'According to their own historical traditions it took the Incas about forty five years to conquer most of what is now Peru, not counting tropical forest area' – is able to hold its own when submitted to critical scrutiny, and it is to this idea that I must now turn.⁵⁵ But, before turning to the analysis of Rowe's methodology in order to ascertain the extent to which it is theoretically robust and empirically sound, it is important to assess the impact that Rowe's ideas have had in the field of Inca Studies. I now want to look at the influence and ramifications of Rowe's ideas in the work of three significant ethno-historians, María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Juha Hiltunen and Ake Wedin.

⁵⁴ J.H. Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, *Peruvian Archaeology. Selected Readings* (Palo Alto, CA: Peek Publications, 1967). See also Rowe, 'Urban settlements in Ancient Peru', *Nawpa Pacha*, 1 (1963).

⁵⁵ John Rowe and Dorothy Menzel, *Peruvian Archaeology*, p. 9.

The Rowean Legacy in the Work of María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Juha Hiltunen and Åke Wedin

One of the most significant Peruvian anthropologists of the twentieth century is María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco and, as I intend to argue, her work articulates the chronology of the Inca Kings very much in line with Rowe's proposed schema. Her most significant publications include *Pachacútec Inca Yupanqui* (1953),⁵⁶ *Curacas y sucesiones* (1961), *Curacas y sucesiones, costa norte* (1961),⁵⁷ *Etnia y sociedad. Costa peruana prehispánica* (1977),⁵⁸ *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta* (1978),⁵⁹ *Recursos naturales renovables y pesca. Siglos XVI y XVII* (1981),⁶⁰ *Estructuras andinas del poder: ideología religiosa y política* (1983)⁶¹ and *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu* (1988).⁶² The latter, which has been translated into several languages, including English, Polish and Japanese. In her work Rostworowski probes the structures of the social and geographical interactions of

⁵⁶ María Rostworowski, *Pachacutec Inca Yupanqui* (Lima: Torres Aguirre, 1953).

⁵⁷ Rostworowski, *Curacas y sucesiones: Costa Norte* (Lima: Minerva, 1961).

⁵⁸ Rostworowski, *Etnia y sociedad. Costa peruana prehispánica* (Lima: IEP, 1977).

⁵⁹ Rostworowski, *Señoríos indígenas de Lima y Canta* (Lima: IEP, 1978).

⁶⁰ Rostworowski, *Recursos naturales renovables y pesca. Siglos XVI y XVII* (Lima: IEP, 1981).

⁶¹ Rostworowski, *Estructuras andinas del poder. Ideología religiosa y política* (Lima: IEP, 1983).

⁶² Rostworowski, *Historia del Tawantinsuyu* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1988).

ethnic groups on the central and south coastal regions of Peru in order to identify the social patterns which governed pre-Hispanic Andean societies. In her work she formulates new concepts of Inca history, challenging as well as analysing the fundamentals arrived at by previous scholars of Inca history. Rostworowski not only uses the chroniclers as the basis of Inca history, but by interpreting administrative documents, such as the *visitas*, *probanzas* and *pleitos*, found in the archives of Peru, Bolivia and Spain, she re-analyses what was known, up to 1988, as Inca history. Although she was one of the first historians to propose the possibility of the existence of more Incas than the twelve Kings listed in the 'official history' of the Incas as expressed in a number of canonical texts, her work does not question or interrogate the concepts or methodologies proposed by Rowe in 1945 about the rapid expansion of the Inca Empire and the notion of the existence of the Incas as a clearly defined ethnic group in the Cuzco region. In her work Rostworowski focuses on one issue which has been particularly contentious among scholars who work on the historiography of the Inca Kings, and this is the issue of the war with the Chancas. While all commentators agree that, for the chroniclers the war with the Chancas was a decisive moment in the evolution of the dominance of the Incas, there is a great deal of disagreement about who was the warrior behind such a decisive course of events. Whereas some chroniclers such as Garcilaso de la Vega see Viracocha as playing a heroic role in the rout of the Chancas, others such as Sarmiento de Gamboa see his son, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, as playing a more significant and

heroic role than his father.⁶³ In *Estructuras andinas del poder: ideología religiosa y política* Rostworowski offers a great deal of insight into the rivalry between clans and individuals at the moment of succession, and she proposes that there existed not a single lineage of legitimate succession as in Europe but a principle of co-rule. She uses this in order to suggest why the transmission of power from one generation to another in the Inca kingdom was so problematic. Rostworowski describes the Inca social structure, as well as reiterating the importance of the notion of dual leadership, the power of the Inca and the quadripartite division of the land, into the four *suyos* within the Inca kingdom. One of the innovations of her work is that she contextualises the knowledge articulated in the major historical chronicles with a set of recently discovered unpublished materials which throw new light on the mechanisms of succession within Inca society. There is one particular aspect of her work which is highly relevant to this thesis, namely her notion that there exists the possibility of there being more Inca kings than those mentioned in the Sarmiento/Cabello lists.⁶⁴ She states that it was not

⁶³ For Garcilaso de la Vega's account of Viracocha's heroism and his prescience about the future arrival of the Spanish, see *Comentarios reales*, Book 6. For a less flattering view of Viracocha's prowess, see Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia de los Incas*, chapters 24-26. For an excellent discussion of the difference between Sarmiento de Gamboa's work and that of contemporary historians, see Brian S. Bauer and Jean-Jacques Decoster, 'Introduction', in *Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa: The History of the Incas*, translated and edited by Brian S. Bauer & Vania Smith (Austin: University of Texas, 2007), pp. 1-34 (pp. 25-33).

⁶⁴ Rostworowski, *Estructuras andinas del poder. Ideología religiosa y política* (Lima: IEP, 1983), chapter 5.

uncommon, after an Inca king had died, for there to be civil wars:

certain *panacas* would side with one of the possible candidates and that at the end of the civil war, the winning side would kill the members of the *panacas* that had sided with the losing candidate and therefore their *panacas* would have been erased from the list because it would not have pleased the incoming Inca.⁶⁵

Furthermore, the conquests accredited to the 'disappeared' dead Inca king – who also functioned as head of the disappearing *panacas* – would have then been accredited to another *panaca* lineage line, and therefore shared by the descendants and kings of the remaining *panacas*.

She argues, furthermore, that there existed a certain proclivity within Inca society to conflict as a result of the succession process because of the existence of dual rulership. In *Historia del Tawantisuyu*, for example, specifically in chapter 4, she notes that while there is little evidence of the practice of dual rulership in the official chronicles there is evidence that this practice existed in a number of unpublished administrative documents which she has consulted. During the early Cusco period, for example, Tocay Capac and Pinahua Capac were dual rulers, and often the leaders ruled separately over their moieties of the

⁶⁵ A *panaca* is an Inca's clan from which the Inca's own children are excluded.

kingdom such that the inferior member of the ruling pair was known as the 'second person' ('segunda persona' in Spanish).⁶⁶ It is clear that Rostworoski, as a result of investigating the evidence based on the diversity of narrative versions of Inca kings, has proposed the evident discursive 'excess' of Inca lords by providing a horizontal syntagmatic reading of the play of social forces. In this thesis, however, while I recognise the need to posit the existence of a discursive excess of Inca lords I will be pursuing the hypothesis of the need for a diachronic reading of that excess. Put simply, this hypothesis is based on the idea of more Inca lords having existed than the records can account for, in order to raise the possibility of a number of Inca lords whose existence has been excised from the official record. This is a line of argument which will be taken up later on in this thesis but suffice it to underline at this point the fact that one of the foremost critics of Inca genealogy has in effect argued for the existence of a discursive excess of Inca lords which cannot be contained within the strict boundaries of the official records as they have come down to us in the various chronicles of the feats of the Incas.

However, Rostworowski does not provide more detailed information as to how often these events happened, although she implies that it was a common event. The inevitable question arises, after all: how many Inca kings disappeared because of these events? Rostworowski does not venture a guess. One of the aims of this thesis is to open up the possibility that there were a number of disappeared

⁶⁶ *History of the Inca Realm*, trans. Harry B. Iceland (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 144-47.

Inca kings, and to evaluate how this event might have been narrated, as well as assess the ways in which it had an impact on later scholars of the ways in which Inca culture has been understood. Despite this refreshingly open-minded aspect of Rostworowski's work, the full implications of this idea are hampered by the fact that she continues to resist any attempt to dislodge Rowe's theory of how the Inca Empire grew. In particular, Rostworowski remains very much in favour of Rowe's theory of rapid expansion and therefore accredited the expansion of the Inca Empire to the last three Inca kings in the so-called list of Incas, Pachacutec, Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac. In order to present an important corrective to Rowe's and Rostworowski's views on the issue of the expansion of the Inca Empire it will be necessary to have recourse to the theories enunciated by Juha Hiltunen and Ake Wedin.

In his book *Ancient Kings of Peru: The Reliability of the Chronicle of Fernando de Montesinos; Correlating the Dynasty lists with current Prehistoric Periodization in the Andes*,⁶⁷ Juha Hiltunen argues that there existed other dynasties prior to the Hurin and Hanan dynasties. He suggests that Fernando Montesinos, in his chronicle *Memorias antiguas historiales y politicas del Perú*, written during the beginning of the seventeenth century, claims that there is evidence that both Inca and pre-Incaic rulers were

⁶⁷ Juha Hiltunen, *Ancient Kings of Peru: The reliability of the Chronicle of Fernando de Montesinos; Correlating the Dynasty Lists with Current Prehistoric Periodization in the Andes* (1999), in <http://www.lib.helsinki.fi/elektra/hiltunen.html> (last consulted December 2004).

exponents of the written word. The relevant passage is as follows:

Ya, por este tiempo, el primer hijo de Huanacaui, llamado Sinchi Cosque, era mozo de buena edad y hermosa disposición, y era querido y amado de todos los súbditos de su padre. Dicen los amautas que sabían las cosas de estos tiempos por tradiciones de los antiquísimos, comunicados de mano en mano, que cuando este príncipe reinaba, había letras y hombres doctos en ellas, que llaman amautas; y estos enseñaban á leer y escribir.⁶⁸

This is, as one might imagine, a hotly contested field. While Anello Oliva and the anonymous Jesuit (probably father Blas Valera), for example, concur with this view, ethno-historians including Marcia and Robert Ascher and Carlos Radicati di Primeglio dispute this idea. The latter school of thought, for example, holds that the *quipus* were, in the main, structured for numerical accounts only.⁶⁹ This issue will be addressed in greater depth at a later juncture of this thesis in which I address specifically the hypothesis that the Incas were in possession of a highly developed form of writing which was articulated by means of the *quipus*, which went beyond simply numerical notation (see chapter 3).

⁶⁸ Fernando Montesinos, *Memoriales antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú*, ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1882), chapter IV, p. 23.

⁶⁹ Martti Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu: El estado Inca y su organización política*, p.38.

One issue on which the chroniclers were divided – and which had important implications for the notion of the chronology of the Inca succession – was the origin of the Incas. A number of the chroniclers including Cieza de León, Betanzos, Polo de Ondegardo, Sarmiento, Cabello, Garcilaso, Guaman Poma, and Cabello de Balboa believed that the Incas were descendants of Ophir, Noah's grandson.⁷⁰ Montesinos was, of all the chroniclers, the one who provided the most 'information' about this legacy:

Después de haber Ophir poblado la Hamérica, instruyó á sus hijos y nietos en el temor de Dios y observación de la ley natural. Vivieron en ella muchos años, comunicándose de padres a hijos el respeto al Criador de todas las cosas, por los beneficios recibidos, en especial por el del Diluvio, de que libró a sus progenitores.⁷¹

He claimed that the Incas came specifically from Armenia, and suggested that 'no será dificultoso creer que Noé estuviese en el Pirú'.⁷² No doubt because of statements such as these, a number of scholars have had little time for Montesinos; Riva-Agüero, Markham, Means, and Rowe, for example, accused Montesinos of falsifying the

⁷⁰ Ophir is mentioned as the grand-son of Noah in *Genesis*, chapter 10, verse 29.

⁷¹ Fernando Montesinos, *Memoriales antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú*, p. 1.

⁷² Fernando Montesinos, *Memoriales antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú*, p. 4.

documents.⁷³ Hiltunen, however, in his study offers a new reading of Montesinos's work, and argues that this negative assessment has, in effect, thrown out the baby with the bath water. He argues that there is corroborated evidence to prove that Montesinos, as a Jesuit, had access to and used a number of valuable first-hand sources which belonged to the Jesuit Society in assembling his account of the Inca way of life. It has been assumed that Montesinos is an example of the type of Tridentine thinker who sacrificed empiric evidence in favour of ideological and religious dogma. There clearly were examples during this period of chroniclers who experienced pressure to change their ideas from the Spanish government and the Catholic Church. I will be referring to one particular example of this later on in this thesis, the case of Zárate's chronicle as well as probably the case of Padre Blas Valera (see below). But Montesinos was not a Tridentine thinker in this sense for his work occasionally interrogates the 'idéés reçues' of his times. Hiltunen claims, for example, that the three main points argued in Montesinos's chronicle are based on bona fide ethno-historical information which is consistent with Late Intermediate and Late Horizon archaeological evidence. This leads Hiltunen to argue that:

The world's views (including notions of history and time reckoning) of European

⁷³ José de la Riva Agüero, *La historia en el Perú*; Clements Markham, *The Incas of Peru*; Philip Ainsworth Means, *Biblioteca Andina: Part One: The Chroniclers, or, the Writers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries Who Treated the Pre-Hispanic History and Culture of the Andean Countries*; John Howland Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area', *American Antiquity*, 10.3 (1945), 265-84.

(early modern age) and Ancient Andean have been compared in the present study. According to a commonplace idea, the Amerindians and Europeans profoundly differ in this respect. However, a growing universal database indicates that these distinctions have been exaggerated.⁷⁴

It is clear that the differences between cyclical and linear thinking as understood in the sixteenth century in the Old and New Worlds need to be reviewed. Hiltunen argues against the idea of the difference in chronology between Old and New Worlds simply in terms of linear versus cyclical patterns and suggests that some of the problems involved in Inca historiography grew as a result of differences of opinion about linear history. In particular Hiltunen argues that Pachacutec was the major architect of canonical Inca historiography and that he was probably responsible for not only deleting any pre-Incaic dynasties but for changing Inca history as well. In my own work I build on Hiltunen's hypothesis, and take it further by arguing that Pachacutec was also responsible for deleting any mention of many of the Incas that preceded him from the list of the Inca rulers. As we shall see, Pachacutec established the Inca formula of deleting from his genealogy any previous Incas or *panacas* whose work displeased him. It is possible to detect the existence of lacunae in the text's memory as a result, for example, of the existence of inconsistent evidence which points simultaneously in different directions or, for example,

⁷⁴ Hiltunen, <http://www.lib.helsinki.fi/elektra/hiltunen.html> (last consulted May 2004), p.356.

as a result of the existence of an abrupt narrative which differs in tone and style from the texts which precede and/or succeed it. As we shall see, this formula was adopted by subsequent Inca rulers, and was common knowledge for later chroniclers such as Cieza de León.

Hiltunen in addition has argued that comparative analysis of the dynastic lists are treated as something special by universal historians and contends that the regal span averages, which are commonly used when constructing the chronology in non-historical societies, are grossly exaggerated. For example, how could Capac Yupanqui have lived 100 years and his son, Inca Roca, reigned immediately after him for 50-70 years? The sums do not add up. However, in my thesis I will be basing my calculations on Rowe's sensible 1945 hypothesis which included the acceptance of various factors governed by contingency, including life span, the fact that some people live longer than others and the fact the Incas were not immune from the law that kings are often murdered by their enemies and contenders.

I should add, however, that there are some points on which my thesis agrees with Hiltunen's argument. His claim, for example, that the Toledan chroniclers, Sarmiento, Polo de Ondegardo, Cabello de Balboa and Molina, and later chroniclers such as Garcilaso and Cobo, have manipulated our perception of Inca history is a sensible one. But the problem still remains of regal time span. Hiltunen appears to challenge the modern conventional structure of the models of Inca history. However, it is solely based on Montesinos's chronicle, the *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú*. Hiltunen points out several aspects that

should be investigated and his main argument resonates with the fact that there were previous Incas to the dynastic rule of the Hurin and the Hanan dynasties. Although he challenges the limited number of Incas in the Hurin dynasty – which is an argument I pursue in this thesis – he goes on to make exaggerated claims as to the number of Incas when he claims that there were more than a hundred. Hiltunen accepts Rowe's argument that it was Inca Roca who started the Hanan dynasty around 1350 and that Pachacutec came into power around 1438.⁷⁵ However, I intend to demonstrate that Rowe's argument is flawed at this point because the sums do not add up, and I will be proposing that Pachacutec ruled at least one hundred years earlier than the Rowean hypothesis suggests. I shall also argue that several Inca kings were erased from the genealogical list.

Hiltunen's main argument is that the rulers of the Inca dynasties probably came from the Wari polity during the Middle Horizon period. It was Inca Roca, the founder of the Hanan dynasty and a descendent of *Tampa Tocco*, a *Panaca*, who usurped the throne and became the founder and first emperor of the Hurin dynasty. Nonetheless, when Hiltunen identifies the Incas who formed the Hanan dynasty, his arguments about Inca settlement in the Cuzco region and the rapid Inca expansion are based on Rowe's theories. Thus he states that Pachacutec probably came into power in or about 1438 (as suggested above).⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Hiltunen, p. 362.

⁷⁶ Hiltunen, p. 62.

While there are many excellent ideas in Hiltunen's monograph, it falls short as a result of relying overmuch on Rowe's theories. In particular Hiltunen fails to investigate the possibility that many of those kings mentioned by some chroniclers might have been erased either because they were corrupt, lazy or had lost lands conquered by their ancestors, or perhaps because the *panacas* they had formed an alliance with proved to be the losers in the struggle for succession to the Inca throne. It can be surmised that this is what occurred to Tupac Yupanqui when Huascar and Atahualpa were struggling for power.

One of the most important twentieth-century historians to address the issue of Inca chronology and genealogy is Åke Wedin, particularly in *La cronología de la historia incaica* (1963)⁷⁷ and *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes* (1966).⁷⁸ These two monographs provide a significant critical study of Rowe's works which analyses them via a conceptual historiographical method; his conclusion is that Rowe made several assumptions that could not be accepted as derived from a scientific historiographical method. I argue in this thesis that, despite the internal consistencies of Rowe's approach, the issue of

⁷⁷ See Åke Wedin, *La cronología de la historia incaica: estudio crítico* (Madrid: Instituto Ibero-Americano Gotemburgo Suecia, 1963).

⁷⁸ Wedin, *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes* (Uppsala: Scandinavian University Books, 1966). Wedin's monograph, *El sistema decimal en el Imperio incaico: estudio sobre estructura política, división territorial y población* (Madrid: Instituto Ibero-Americano Gotemburgo Suecia, 1965), deals mainly with the decimal system in the Inca Empire and the way they divided all the ethnic groups in the empire in groups of tens and its multiples, and is not directly relevant to the line of argument pursued in this thesis.

chronology enunciated in his work gives the historian sufficient material to create a new reading of Inca chronology.

In the first book, *La cronología de la historia incaica*, Wedin provides some commentary on the process whereby a chronology of the Incas as conceived by Rowe became accepted by other ethno-historians and archaeologists. He argues, firstly, that Rowe lacks a credible reference point from which to begin counting the years backwards, since the date of Huayna Capac's death, namely a date relating to a pre-Columbian period of the Tawantisuyu Empire – which he employs in his argument – has not been incontrovertibly ascertained nor verified by ethno-historians. Wedin suggests that the history of the early Inca rulers is purely legendary and therefore must be ignored or treated as pure conjecture.⁷⁹ It is not until after the reign of Viracocha Inca where historians and ethno-historians alike began to relate the events that occurred during the reigns of the last three kings as 'true' history. The sources elaborate eloquently and in great detail on the histories of these last Incas and take for granted that their informants are reliable sources of information. But, in their chronicles, Sarmiento and Cabello de Balboa provide dates for the reigns of these kings which, as we have noted above, are unrealistic. Let us refresh our memories as to Rowe's proposed dates:

Viracocha deposed	1438
Pachacutec ruled	1438 – 1471 (33 years)

⁷⁹ See *La cronología de la historia incaica*, chapter 1.

Topa Inca took command	1463
Topa Inca ruled	1471 – 1493 (22 years)
Chile conquered	1473
Huayna Capac ruled	1493 – 1525 (32 years).
Huascar ruled	1525 – 1532 (7 years).

In his essay, 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area' Rowe uses a map in order to elucidate the chronology of the growth of the Inca Empire. In his map (see 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area', p. 273), Rowe had depicted the extent of the Inca Empire pertaining to the last three rulers not including Huascar and Atahualpa – namely, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui (Pachacutec), Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac. The map shows that, at the beginning of Pachacutec's reign, the area thus far conquered by the Incas was within the Cuzco region. Rowe had argued that a large parcel of the land which eventually came to constitute the Inca Empire was conquered during Pachacutec's rule, another area of about the same size was conquered by his son, Tupac Yupanqui, while the latter's son, Huayna Capac, conquered a few remaining territories on the fringes of the empire to the north and the north-west. Wedin asks a pertinent question about this: how could anyone know for certain that the conquests took place in the manner as suggested by the map?⁸⁰ He argues that Rowe presents as a *fait accompli* a sequence of events whose existence he hypothesises rather than proves.

⁸⁰ See *La cronología de la historia incaica*, p. 10.

Wedin questions the validity of the chroniclers' informants for a number of reasons. He notes that the Amerindian informants could remember the deeds of the last three Incas (Pachacutec, Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac), but they could not remember anything about the history of conquests prior to Pachacutec. Wedin speculates – sensibly in my view – that the informants were contemporaries of Huayna Capac and, thus, would have known exactly what Huayna Capac had achieved (thus it is not surprising that they referred to a limited number of conquests), even though they could not remember with precision the year of his death. Wedin concludes that European historiographic concepts have been applied to pre-Columbian history in a facile way (it is what he terms 'the great-man theory') and therefore suggests that the problem of Inca chronology merits further investigation.⁸¹

To return to Rowe's map: the sequence of events represented therein, as per the legend, is as follows:

Pachacutec conquered territory during the period 1438-1463

Pachacutec with Tupac Yupanqui conquered territory during the period 1463-1471.

Tupac Yupanqui conquered territory from 1471 until 1493 and,

Huayna Capac conquered territory from 1493 until 1525.

⁸¹ *La cronología de la historia incaica*, pp. 12-15.

Wedin draws attention to some problems with Rowe's system. He points out that, although Rowe altered the date when Huayna Capac died from 1525 to 1527 in his 1946 study, *Inca Culture at the time of the Spanish Conquest*, he did not change the dates in the map, which reveals some inconsistency on Rowe's part. When copies of this map were reproduced in works by Mason, Von Hagen, and Westermanns the details were not updated in line with Rowe's revised chronology.⁸² The chronology maps fail to match up with the narrative in the text.

Another crucial point of Rowe's argument was the exact date of Huayna Capac's death. Wedin suggests that there are several ways to determine this date. Wedin alludes to the fact that Sarmiento states that the year of Huayna Capac's death was 1524. However, as Wedin notes, the word *cuatro* was not written by Sarmiento but in someone else's handwriting. Wedin argues that Cabello de Balboa says that Huayna Capac died in the year of 1525 but he claims that these two sources are late (Sarmiento, 1572, and Cabello de Balboa 1586), and that one of the authors (Sarmiento) shows that he was not sure of the year and that the other (Cabello de Balboa) shows a lack of understanding when dealing with numerical information. This leads Wedin to conclude that, without being sure of the date of Huayna Capac's death, Rowe can offer no more than a guess as to when Pachacutec came to power.

⁸² See John Mason, *The Ancient Civilizations of Peru* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969); Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen, *The Ancient Sun Kingdoms of the Americas* (St. Albans: Paladin, 1973).

Wedin suggests that when Rowe first approached this thorny problem, he followed Cabello's proposed date for Huayna Capac's death, namely 1525. However, in a later article, Rowe suggested the slightly later date of 1527 as the date of the Inca ruler's death.⁸³ This was probably as a result of consulting and comparing the narratives provided in two key chronicles, by Cieza de León and Cobo respectively, who claimed to base their accounts on information provided by local Indians – white-bearded men had been seen in the northern coast at that time and Huayna Capac had been told about this 'strange event'. Cieza suggests in his account that Huayna Capac had died soon after receiving news of this event.⁸⁴ Cobo's account is similar to Cieza's though there are some slight differences.⁸⁵ It is likely that Rowe changed

⁸³ J.H. Rowe, 'Urban settlements in Ancient Peru', *Nawpa Pacha*, 1 (1963).

⁸⁴ In chapter LXIX of *El Señorío de los Incas*, Cieza de León recounts, without specifying the year, that 'En este mismo año andaban Francisco Pizarro con trece cristianos por esta costa y había de ellos ido al Quito aviso a Guanynacapa, a quien contaron el traje que traían y la manera del navío y como eran barbados y blancos y hablaban poco (...) Y como se sintió tocado de la enfermedad, mandó se hicieran grandes sacrificios por su salud en toda la tierra y por todas la guacas y templos del Sol; mas yéndole agraviado, llamó a sus capitanes y paarientes y les habló algunas cosas, entres las cuales les dijo, a lo que algunos de ellos dicen, que el sabía que la gente que había visto en el navío volvería con potencia grande y que ganaría la tierra. (...) Y como esto hubo hecho, murió'; *El Señorío de los Incas*, in *Crónica del Perú. El Senorio de los Incas*, ed. Franklin Pease G.Y. (Caracas: Ayacucho, 2005), pp. 301-459 (pp. 448-49).

⁸⁵ According to Bernabé Cobo, for example, Huayna Capac was in Tumebamba when Pizarro and his men were exploring the north of Peru, and he adds that Huayna Capac died in Quito. However, as we have seen, Cieza does not mention any specific coastal place when Pizarro landed, and Cobo says that he landed in Tumbes, something which

the date as a result of the accounts contained in Cieza as well as Cobo, but Wedin questions the validity of the new date. He makes the good point that – in order to corroborate the date – it would be necessary, firstly, to determine exactly when Huayna Capac received the information about the Spaniards and, secondly, to prove that the sovereign did die soon after hearing the news.

It is important at this point to give some background information on a contemporary chronicler, Francisco de Xerez, who allows us to contextualise the variance between the historical accounts offered above. Xerez gives a very short account about Pizarro's second voyage in which he states that Pizarro and his men left Panama and that after some time they arrived at the mouth of the river San Juan (which is now in Colombia) where he remained while Almagro returned to Panama to procure more men.⁸⁶ At the same time a small brigantine set sail northwards, returning some seventy days later. The captain told Pizarro they had

Xerez verifies; see discussion below. When Cobo recounts his version of the story he includes details about messengers rushing to inform Huayna Capac of having seen some white people with beards. However, Cobo, among other things, says that the messengers said that they were not frightened of anything dangerous and that they preached new beliefs and laws, which according to Wedin is somewhat anachronistic. Both Cieza and Cobo relate the story of the death of Huayna Capac, and, the only difference between the two stories is that Cobo adds that 'it was soon after' the arrival of the Spanish in Tumbes. Cieza does not give a chronological relation between the death of the Inca and the Spanish arrival the only clear fact is that his death occurred some time after the Spanish visit. Therefore one has to rely on Cieza and accept the fact that we will never know the exact date of Huayna Capac's death.

⁸⁶ Francisco de Xerez, *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú* (Madrid: Colección de Libros Raros o Curiosos, 1891), pp. 23-26.

seen other people who were clearly very rich in precious metals, and brought with them six Indians as well as some gold, silver and clothes. We are then told that Almagro returned from Panama with more men and horses and that they continued on their journey to Lacamez (Atacames) and as they considered themselves to be vulnerable to attack, they withdrew to the Isla del Gallo where Pizarro once again remained whilst Almagro returned to Panama to get more men and horses.⁸⁷ The Panamanian governor refused to allow Almagro to recruit more men and instead sent a ship to pick up Pizarro and his men. However, Pizarro refused to leave, and he and thirteen other soldiers remained on the island.⁸⁸ Xerez recounts that after five months another ship arrived and took Pizarro and his men further south along the coast to Tumbez (Tumbes) where they saw towns full of gold and silver.⁸⁹ After the death of the Panamanian governor they returned to Panama and then Pizarro returned to Spain, which is where the second expedition concludes.

Later chroniclers have also referred to this account; however, some of the essential details in Francisco de Xerez's account are exposed as inconsistent. Wedin deduces that, to actually arrive at the dates when this event took place one would need to analyse certain documents indicating when Almagro first returned to Panama (i.e. when he spoke to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés who was in the city during that time and, indeed, wrote that Almagro arrived in September 1526 and left on Tuesday, 8

⁸⁷ *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*, pp. 27-30.

⁸⁸ *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*, p. 30.

⁸⁹ *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*, p. 37.

January 1527). Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés also recorded that Pedrarias Dávila returned to Panama sometime between 3 and 6 February 1527 and that Almagro threw a party in his house to celebrate the way things were going during the expedition.⁹⁰ Wedin claims that this date is not possible as it contradicts what Oviedo stated earlier; he proposes that it was a blotch of ink that had apparently distorted the word and that it probably read *Enero* rather than *Febrero*. Wedin concludes that, given the contradictory nature of the evidence, it is impossible to determine for certain which of these two dates is the correct one, thereby exposing the problems underlying Rowe's own proposed chronological map.

Almagro subsequently returned to Panama and it is very likely this occurred in 1527. However, some months later Pedro de los Ríos, then governor of Panama, sent a ship to pick up Pizarro and his men who returned after having left Pizarro and thirteen of his men behind waiting for another ship to come and take them further south. Wedin underlines that it is impossible to ascertain with any degree of certainty when this event took place. Had it been in 1527 when they arrived in Tumbes, then it must have been towards the end of that year, or even at the beginning of 1528. Both suppositions have their merits. Wedin argues that Rowe followed the essential outlines as drawn up in the accounts provided by Cieza de León and Xerez, and then simply added to these narratives a date, which was fictitious, since neither of these texts contained a date, as we have seen.

⁹⁰ Åke Wedin, *La cronología de la historia incaica*, p. 55.

Are there any other sources which might corroborate Rowe's dates? It is true that other chroniclers such as Bartolomé de las Casas and Antonio de Herrera allude to this episode in their works. Wedin argues, however, that one cannot take Herrera as a reliable account as he sets the date of the return of the second expedition in 1526, something that is refuted by other chroniclers.⁹¹ Wedin concludes that, if such an important event as the recent death of Huayna Capac could not be determined by interrogating the Indians who had personally known him and had fought on his side, it is unlikely ever to be determined. Wedin mentions a number of other problems relating to chronology such as the fact that, when the Spanish arrived, for example, they discovered the Amerindians did not know how old they were. The divisions present within ethnic groups showed that they dealt with relative rather than absolute concepts. For example, the names of the groups chosen, such as *Cocapallac* which means the one that picks coca, and *aucapora* which means adult or the man that bears arms, demonstrates that the Incas related time to a period of the human life rather than seeing time as an abstract concept.⁹² The curious part of Wedin's thesis, however, is that – even though he points out the many holes in Rowe's

⁹¹ Åke Wedin, *La cronología de la historia incaica*, p. 57.

⁹² The vast difference between how the Spaniards and the Incas respectively viewed time could, at first glance, suggest that any attempt to produce a chronological map is doomed. But the aim of this study is to attempt – by comparing various sources and focussing on important historical events – to establish such a chronology.

chronological map – he still argues that it is ‘the most plausible one we have’.⁹³

Is it not the case that Wedin’s conclusion does not bear out the implications of his argument? In the next section, I shall pursue this line of argument and suggest that there is another way of reading the evidence presented by Rowe and analysed by Wedin. This new line of argument seeks to test the hypothesis that Rowe’s chronology telescoped the evolution of the Inca Empire into the reigns of the last three Inca kings, and re-evaluates the available evidence in the light of this hypothesis. Let’s look, first of all, at the issue of the reliability of the informants used by Sarmiento, and followed by Rowe.

The problem does not lie as much in the chronicler as in the informer. Had the informers been in a position where they could have answered with exactitude the questions posed by the chroniclers? Cieza refers several times to the problems encountered by the informants in remembering the exact details of certain events, and, just as importantly, when certain events occurred. Wedin, as we have seen, criticises Rowe’s methodology; he accuses Rowe of in effect ‘concealing’ his sources, but he does not propose a new chronology based on his critique. While, on the one hand, Wedin agrees with Rowe’s thesis about the late expansion of the empire (i.e. it occurred in the reign of the last three Inca kings), at another point in the argument he appears to contradict himself when he suggests that the idea

⁹³ Åke Wedin, *La cronología de la historia incaica*, p. 58. See map in John Rowe, ‘Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area’, *American Antiquity*, 10.3 (1945), 265-84.

that the empire was conquered over a period of the last three kings is unrealistic.⁹⁴ The argument I will be pursuing here is that this chronological map is feasible if we introduce into the equation the possibility that there were more kings than those cited in the official list, especially if these occurred between Pachacutec and Tupac Yupanqui.

Wedin comes close to a way out of this intellectual cul-de-sac when he argues that the main problem in deducing the chronology of the Inca kings is the question of memory. The primary problem is that of the patchy nature of memory when it is devoid of material record. Cieza de León, for example, in the prologue of his *Crónica del Perú*, notes: 'en todas partes por donde yo andaba, ninguno se ocupaba en escribir nada de lo que pasaba. (...) el tiempo consume la memoria de las cosas, de tal manera, que si no es por rastros y vías exquisitas en lo venidero no se sabe con verdadera noticia lo que pasó.'⁹⁵ The problem of national memory is compounded, of course, when there is no system of written record but there is a more problematic twist which occurred specifically in the historiography of the Incas, and this concerned the significance of the gestalt effect in the informants' memorialisation of past events.⁹⁶ Cieza de León noticed, for example, that the ethnic groups who had been conquered by the Incas only mentioned the Incas they remembered as their conquerors. A similar idea emerges in

⁹⁴ Wedin, *La cronología de la historia incaica*, p. 52.

⁹⁵ Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú. El Señorío de los Incas*, ed. Franklin Pease G.Y. (Caracas: Ayacucho, 2005), p. 10.

⁹⁶ See Wolfgang Köhler, *Gestalt Psychology* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1992).

the *Relaciones geográficas de las Indias*. In this latter chronicle, when the people of Chincha were asked by the Spanish who had conquered them, they said that it was Capac Yupanqui – this despite the fact that the first Inca – in a chronological sense – that they knew was Tupac Yupanqui.⁹⁷ To use a Gestaltian metaphor, Tupac Yupanqui – despite his objective significance – has been perceived in terms of background when compared to Capac Yupanqui's foregrounded significance.

Wedin deduced that the majority of the informants of the chroniclers tied their ethnic groups to the earliest Inca they could remember. In this context we can see Arnoldsson's theory – which stressed that in oral history people only have a memory of past events pertaining to up to three generations – as plausible.⁹⁸ Hero worship played a very important part when the Indians described who conquered them.⁹⁹ In this context it is important to underline that it is more likely for the informant to ascribe the 'greatest deeds' to the most ancient sovereign they could remember. As we know, Sarmiento de Gamboa spoke to Indians in the course of researching the history of the Incas, and he also participated in the *Informaciones de Toledo*. However, these chronicles in general do not necessarily inform us about what the Indians wanted to say, but rather – through carefully formulated questions by the Spanish

⁹⁷ Wedin, *La cronología de la historia incaica*, pp. 49-50.

⁹⁸ Sverker Arnoldsson, *La Conquista Española de América: Según el juicio del la posteridad: Vestigios de la leyenda negra* (Madrid: Insula, 1960).

authorities – what the Spanish authorities wanted them to say. Thus they required the Indians to answer ‘yes’ or ‘no’ to a question which was designed to confirm that the Incas had been usurpers.¹⁰⁰ Pointing in a similar direction Cieza had noticed a great tendency by his informants to attribute not only all the heroic deeds but also all of the conquests to the last three Incas:

Pues con la más brevedad que pude escribir lo que entendí de la gobernacion y costumbre de los Incas, quiero volver con mi escriptura á contar lo que hobo desde Manco Capac hasta Guascar, como atrás prometí. Y así, deste como de otros no dan mucha noticia los orejones, porque, á la verdad, hicieron pocas cosas; porque los inventores de lo escripto y los más valerosos de todos ellos, fueron Inca Yupanqui y Tupac Inca, su hijo, y Guayna Capac su nieto; aunque también lo debe causar la razón, que ya tengo escripta, de ser éstos los más modernos.¹⁰¹

The risk in narrating the history of the Incas – and Cieza de León astutely saw its danger – was that the informants would interpret the past through the lens of the present and, in so doing, telescope a number of past events

¹⁰⁰ See, for example, Francisco de Toledo, ‘Relación sumaria de lo que se contiene en la información de la tiranía de los ingas’, in D. Fernando Montesinos, *Memorias antiguas historiales y políticas del Perú*, ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Imprenta de Miguel Ginesta, 1882), pp. 185-203.

¹⁰¹ Wedin, *La cronología de la historia incaica*, p. 54.

into the recent history of the last three generations, starting with the most recent – namely, Huayna Capac, followed by TupacYupanqui followed by Pachacutec. The synthesis thereby created would have all of the internal consistency of a perception according to the figure-ground organisation which operates in Gestalt theory.

Since Cieza de León noticed that there was a tendency to attribute the bulk of the deeds of the Inca Kings to the last three Incas – and he questioned the veracity of this since it seemed to be a suspicious pattern – it is legitimate to ask if the same pattern emerges in Rowe's interpretation of the evolution of the Inca Empire, as filtered through Sarmiento de Gamboa's account. As we have already noted, Rowe had divided up the chroniclers based on whether they believed that the Incas had conquered territory more than about fifty miles from Cuzco at the beginning of Pachacutec's reign.¹⁰² He found, firstly, that there were more chroniclers in the 'no' list; secondly, that their narratives were more consistent; and, thirdly, that there were more early chroniclers on the 'no' list than on the 'yes' list. These were decisive factors which persuaded Rowe to argue that the 'no' list – which included chroniclers such as Betanzos, Cieza de León, and Cabello de Balboa – was as good an approximation as possible to what happened in the Inca Empire. On the face of it this would be appear to be a common-sense inference to derive from the facts as presented. The informants who were nearer to the cliff-face (i.e. chronologically closer to the time when the Inca Empire

¹⁰² John Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area', *American Antiquity*, 10.3 (1945), 265-84.

existed) would surely provide a truer picture of what happened. But if one takes on board the (surely legitimate) caveat mentioned by Cieza de León that the informants had a tendency to ascribe the bulk of the Inca deeds to the last three Kings, and, if one also takes into account the concept of figure-ground organisation which operates within Gestalt theory, it is possible to turn Rowe's theory on its head, and propose that the narrative of the informants who provided information to their Spanish inquisitors in the 1550s, 1560s and 1570s possessed a common denominator, namely, that they relied on a personal memory which de rigueur stretched back three generations. This three-generation 'container' became the 'figure' into which the 'ground' of the evolution of the Inca Empire was unceremoniously squeezed. Proximity to the events – i.e. a writing-up of the historical narratives in the 1550s, 1560s, and 1570s – according to the Gestalt paradigm would have been a disadvantage rather than an advantage, as it was subsequently seen by Rowe. The historical distance from the events of the evolution of the Inca Empire, evident in the work of chroniclers such as Garcilaso de la Vega, whose *Comentarios reales* was published in 1609, and Guaman Poma de Ayala, whose *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* was written between 1600 and 1615, would, according to this paradigm, have allowed for a more considered and reasoned account of the Inca Empire. Rowe, it could be argued, could not see the wood for the trees.

There is another issue which needs to be raised in this context, and this is the contentious issue of the role played by the Chancas in the various accounts of the spread of the Inca Empire. One of the main reasons why the Inca

Empire expanded was because the Chancas – long-time enemies of the Incas who lived in the nearby Apurimac valley – were vanquished. It is clear – though the accounts differ as to who was responsible for conquering the Chancas – that the defeat of the Chancas was the single most important factor which led to Inca greatness. The majority of the chroniclers promote Pachacutec as the hero who saved the Incas from certain death at the hands of the Chancas, and thereby sowed the seeds of their future glory. But there are a number of factors which militate against the notion that it was Pachacutec. Quite apart from the figure-ground paradigm within Gestalt theory, there is the fact that the battle for supremacy over the Chancas is referred to as occurring in a number of the reigns of different Inca kings. The narrative in Polo's *Relaciones geográficas de las Indias*, for example, refers to the people of a neighbouring town who claimed that 'se gobernaban por el inga Topa Inga Yupanqui, y traían guerra con los indios Chancas', while Rostworowski's *Historia de Tawantinsuyu* suggests that the Incas had such a long-standing battle with the Chancas that its initiation point seems to have been lost in the mists of time. Likewise both Tupac Inca and Huayna Capac are also mentioned in chronicles as having had fierce military encounters with them, yet no ethno-historian has made the connection that it might have been either of these two Incas who deserve the credit for routing the Chancas. Doubts about why it should necessarily have been Pachacutec who single-handedly vanquished the Chancas are raised by the fact that some chroniclers such as Garcilaso de la Vega and Bernabé Cobo argue that the Inca who defeated the Chancas was not Pachacutec but his father Viracocha. Since the destruction of the Chancas was a nation-forming event, it is

important to note that the chroniclers disagree about the identity of the person who was responsible for the act of bravery which set the Incas on their journey to power and wealth. Sarmiento, for example, mentions that Inga Roca as well as Yahuar Huaca and Viracocha had conquered the peoples of 'Mohina' and 'Pinagua'.¹⁰³ Since there was clearly a history of war over disputed territories, pitched battles, pacification followed by sporadic uprisings between the Incas and the Chancas, it is all the more difficult to posit a single hero who founded and formed the Inca nation.

As we can see, Wedin's monograph, *La cronología de la historia incaica*, is valuable given the analysis it provides of some of the tenets underlying Rowe's thesis about Inca chronology and genealogy. While it drew attention to a number of the problems underpinning Rowe's chronological map, it failed to take that analysis far enough and left a number of issues unresolved. As this section of the thesis has attempted to demonstrate, Rowe's foregrounding of the earliest group of chroniclers writing about the Inca Empire misinterpreted the intrinsic historical value of that group of chroniclers whose works were written at the beginning of the seventeenth century, among whom should be included Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales* (1609), and Guaman Poma de Ayala, whose *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* was written during the period 1600-1615. This section of the thesis opens up the question of the validity of the informants' ideas which underpinned the chronicles written by a group of writers including Betanzos, Sarmiento de Gamboa and Cabello de

¹⁰³ Wedin, *La cronología de la historia incaica*, pp. 45-54.

Balboa. It also re-opens the issue of the information contained in the *quipus*, which is the subject of Wedin's subsequent monograph, to which I will now turn.

In his 1966 monograph, *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes*, Wedin focusses on the elusive notion of what is meant by 'lo incaico'.¹⁰⁴ It was only at the dawn of the twentieth century that an empiric study of Inca culture has emerged; prior to that only the sources had dealt with the Incas as a historical concept. Wedin argues that everything written about the Incas up until the end of the eighteenth century had been a type of 'historical fiction'. Inca culture has been systematically mis-read by a variety of thinkers and observers, and not only by Rowe; it has been used, for example, to prop up favourable assessments of extraneous philosophies such as communism (i.e. in the work of Mariátegui), religious tolerance and liberalism. Wedin draws attention to the work of writers such as Montaigne, who deals with Peru and Mexico in his essay *Des Coches* (1588), in which he describes the Spanish and Europeans as barbarians and where he suggests that the Indians were not inferior to the Europeans in an artistic sense.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Åke Wedin, *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes: estudio crítico* (Uppsala: Historica Gothoburgensia VII, 1966).

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, Robert voltaire, 'Title, structure and theme of Montaigne's "Des coches"', *MLN*, 82.3 (1967), 285-90. Other writers include Voltaire who wrote *Candide* (1759), Mme de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une péruvienne* (1747) and Marmontel's *Les Incas ou la destruction de l'empire du Pérou* (1777). Others that contributed towards the creation of Inca history are Robertson's *The History of America* (1777), Raynal's *Histoire philosophique* (1770), Corneille de Pauw's *Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains* (1803), Prescott's *The Conquest of Peru* (1847), as well as Jiménez de la Espada who discovered and published at the end of the nineteenth century the work

Archaeological science began to emerge in a more rudimentary form in the late nineteenth century, and Wedin reviews how the earliest survey of Inca buildings was completed by George Squier who, as a representative of the USA government in Peru, travelled extensively throughout Peru and Bolivia drawing and mapping Inca sites, eventually writing *Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (1877). The German archaeologist, Max Uhle, through his pottery collection managed to correct the misconception originally proposed by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega that all pre-Columbian culture had been Inca, proving that there had been pre-Inca cultures, eventually earning himself the title of ‘father of Peruvian archaeology’.¹⁰⁶

Rowe’s 1945 essay, ‘Absolute Chronology’, was a landmark work which was the final nail in the coffin of the Garcilasan theory of Inca civilisation (see discussion above), but it was an Argentine historian, Levellier, who first proposed the use of documentary evidence left by the Spanish administrators as a historical source. In his *Gobernantes del Perú, cartas y papeles*, XIV vols (1921-1926), he studied letters and papers left by the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo among others, championing ‘the Toledan School’ theory. Lewis Hanke in his book *La lucha por la justicia en la conquista de América* (1949) also evolved a more analytical study of the Incas. However, as Wedin has argued, both Levellier and Rowe do not seem to

of several chroniclers – such as Juan de Betanzos and Fernando Montesinos – that had been lost to view until then, and Richard Pietschmann who discovered Guaman Poma de Ayala’s now famous chronicle in 1906.

¹⁰⁶ For further information on Uhle, see chapter 3.

have understood that it is not necessarily right for Sarmiento to be correct just because Garcilaso is wrong.¹⁰⁷ Wedin pursues the development of this misreading of Inca culture from the chronicles right up to the present day. He picks holes in contemporary works such as Raúl Porras Barrenechea's *Los Cronistas del Perú* (1962), arguing that their historiographical methodology is flawed.¹⁰⁸ Wedin has also criticised those critics who have adapted Inca culture to suit their own ideology.¹⁰⁹

In order to interpret the sources in a useful manner it is essential, Wedin argues, to consider the Inca oral tradition. The Incas did not have written texts as understood in the western sense of printed book, and this makes it all the more important to analyse how the Spanish gathered the information in order to write their chronicles. He classifies the oral tradition into four types: genealogical, public official, clandestine official and personal memory. Each Inca

¹⁰⁷ Wedin, *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes* (Uppsala: Scandinavian University Books, 1966), p. 18.

¹⁰⁸ Wedin is highly critical of several historians; thus he derides Porras Barrenechea who describes the Dutch geographer Corneille de Pauw as the 'famous chaplain de Paw (sic), the Prussian philosopher highly admired by Voltaire', whereas he was in reality Voltaire's enemy. Wedin also criticises Barrenechea's bibliography. One work, cited as follows: 'L. Bandru: *L'Empire Socialiste des Incas*, Paris, 1915', should be corrected to read Baudin, Louis, *L'empire socialiste des Inkas*, Paris, 1928.

¹⁰⁹ He criticises Oscar Martens who, in *Ein sozialistischer Groostaat vor 400 Jahren*, describes the Inca Empire as a socialist centralized state, Cunow who described it as an Empire, Víctor Andrés Belaúnde for his belief that Inca society was socialist, Valcárcel who saw the Incas as communists and Baudin who viewed them as socialist and collectivist; see Wedin, *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes*, chapter 3.

at his death became the founder of a new *panaca*, which his descendants, though not his own children, became members of; the members of the new *panaca* in turn were given the task of conserving the Inca's memory, deeds, and conquests. The public official memory was kept by the *kipucamayocs* who, in collaboration with the official singers, were in charge of keeping the official accepted history of the Incas. However, if an Inca king was given to cowardice, vices or was generally a bad sovereign; the memory of his deeds was ordered to be forgotten. However, certain singers would be in charge of keeping a record of the clandestine official song and, when singing the account to the Inca, would relate the good deeds as well as the more 'controversial' events.¹¹⁰ The latter type of oral tradition consisted of personal memory, which was less organised, and only remembered for one or two generations. It is important, Wedin argues, to assess the different types of oral culture used by the chroniclers in assembling their narratives of the history of the Inca people, not least because many of the chroniclers – and Cieza de León is an example – are a little vague about how they came upon their information. Cieza de León mentions that it came from reliable sources, but, as Wedin points out, since the names of informants are not given, then we are at liberty to question the validity of such sources.¹¹¹

As Wedin demonstrates, the greatest part of the information gathered by the chroniclers came from the official type of oral tradition given by the *kipucamayocs*.

¹¹⁰ See Maria Rostoworski, *History of the Inca Realm*, trans. Harry B. Iceland (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 144-47.

¹¹¹ Wedin, *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes*, chapter 4.

Some authors consider that information, which came from the *khipus*, was more reliable than any of the others, though they failed to take into account the worship that might have been applied by previous Inca kings. It is important to mention here that Wedin accepts the *khipu* only as a means of taking accounts and does not believe that they could write with it, though he accepts that some of the chroniclers maintained that the *khipus* were a form of writing. However, he accepts that they could have been used as a form of mnemonic device. It is important to note that later chroniclers such as Morúa and Cabello claim to have received their information directly from *khipucamayocs*; this was often a ploy used by these writers to convince their readership of the quality and truth of their work and their diligence as historians. Wedin notes that the information given by the *khipucamayocs* is scarce and that the dates of the government of each Inca were always approximate since the Incas did not regard precise historical data as important. For the Incas the significance of the event was more important than the precise time that it occurred.¹¹² In particular Cabello de Balboa's dates are questionable, not only because of this Inca tradition but also because of the internal inconsistency of Cabello de Balboa's text.

The earliest chroniclers lacked knowledge of the Quechua language – and Francisco Xerez is a good example of this – and they understandably wrote very little about the history of the Incas; they mainly concentrated on writing

¹¹² See Maria Rostorowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, trans. Harry B. Iceland (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), esp. pp. 144-47, and Wedin, *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes*, chapter 4.

about their experiences and the conquest of the Inca Empire. The first chronicle of real value is that commissioned by Vaca de Castro, who was governor of Peru between 1541 and 1544: he gathered four surviving *kipucamayocs* to ask them about the history of the Incas and they informed the Spanish that the Incas had reigned for 473 years. They described the disorder that existed among the Indians before the arrival of Manco Capac, about his birth, religion and weapons. They commented on the other Incas, mentioning their wives, sons, lineage, and length of time they governed, although it is now known if some of these details were added post facto by the Spanish, given the Incas' disinterest in chronology per se understood in a European sense.¹¹³

Early Inca historical investigators include chroniclers such as Juan de Betanzos who was one of the first Spaniards to learn the Quechua language; Pedro Cieza de León who was one of the most conscientious and diligent writers; Francisco López de Gómara, who though never in Peru, wrote *A General History of the Indies*; and Agustín de Zárate who was in Peru for only a year between 1544 and 1545 and dared not publish his chronicle as the people he mentioned were still alive, such as Francisco de Carvajal, a captain in Gonzalo Pizarro's camp, who swore that he would kill anyone that published anything about the things he had done! Hence, Zárate – understandably – decided to wait until 1555 before publishing his account. Wedin also

¹¹³ An example of this disinterest in chronological exactitude is evident in Book 1 of Garcilaso de la Vega's *The Incas* in which the story of the Incas is provided to Garcilaso in sequence but without dates; see *The Incas*, translated by Maria Joalas and edited by Alain Ghererbrant (New York: Avon, 1961), pp. 42-47.

describes in his study how other types of documentation are necessary in any history of Inca culture, citing the example of the *visitas*, *pleitos*, and *extirpaciones* as created by Spanish administrators.¹¹⁴

In his studies Wedin analyses effectively the approach needed in order to re-assess the ways in which various writers have constructed Inca history. He addresses, describes and 'unpacks' the main historiographical problems which have occurred from the Conquest to the present day when attempts have been made to write about Inca history. Many of his points are valid and open up the possibility that there were more Inca kings than the historical records suggest and, indeed, that they have been 'disappeared'. Some of his views can be balanced by an investigation of the new evidence about the Inca Empire which has surfaced in recent years in the form of new archaeological evidence. While Wedin's work raises a number of new questions, it does not go far enough in questioning the validity of Rowe's basic hypotheses about the chronology of the Inca Kings, the line of reasoning pursued in this thesis.

¹¹⁴ Wedin, *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes*, pp. 3-7.



Chapter 2: Reviewing the Textual Evidence: A New Look at the Early Peruvian Chroniclers

The chroniclers of the conquest were the first to write about Inca history and, as such, they present the historian with a number of problems. There were, indeed, many contradictions in the compilation of Inca history. In the early years of the conquest the main problem was language; as Francisco de Xerez's account, *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*, makes quite clear, Pizarro had no knowledge of, or interest in, Amerindian languages or culture. Within a few decades, however, the indigenous population learned the Spanish language and a few of the Spanish, such as priests and some soldiers, learnt the indigenous languages; José de Acosta's *Catecismo para instrucción de los indios* (1584), translated into Quechua and Aymara, was Peru's first printed book. The main cause of this linguistic confusion was the contemporary Spanish political situation at the time of the conquest and immediately thereafter, as well as the indigenous peoples' change of attitude towards the Spanish conquerors as they came to realise that by telling the Spanish the truth they ended up losing their land. An example of this was the land possessed by the conquistadors, and eventually the Spanish crown's representative, the Viceroy Toledo, who through edicts tried to prove that the Spanish had the right to conquer the Incas. By so doing they thereby 'liberated' other ethnic groups who had been conquered by the Incas, and in the process gave rise to a plethora of competing versions of what had occurred in the recent as much as the distant past in the Americas.

This was the time of the chronicles, such as those composed by Cieza de León in his masterful *Crónica del Perú* and Juan de Betanzos's *Suma y narración de los incas* (1551-1557) who created new historical versions of Inca history. It was during this time that Sarmiento's chronicle and the *Chronicle of the Khipucamayocs* were written. Furthermore, although the term plagiarism did not exist at the time, many chroniclers, such as Cabello de Balboa, copied extensively from earlier chroniclers; in this particular case, from Sarmiento de Gamboa, hence giving rise to any errors or interpretations which the original writer might have had. A related problem was that the narratives produced by the Spanish chroniclers based on Amerindian narratives had a liberal sprinkling of 'mythical' events among the 'historical' events. It was often quite difficult for the Spanish chroniclers to separate the mythical strands of the narrative from the historicist elements. Often they were introducing a distinction between types of 'truth' (i.e. historical or mythical) which was not recognised as valid by their informants.¹¹⁵

The problem was exacerbated by the extensive use of orature rather than printed literature in the Amerindian world at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Because of the lack of a literate tradition (the validity of this will be argued later on) the Incas had to create epic poems, which in turn were memorized to prevent them from being forgotten.

¹¹⁵ Whereas the Spaniards – following in the Renaissance tradition – conceived of history not only in a linear sense but also as an entity comprised of sequential parcels of time, the Incas were more concerned by the significance of events for later generations than their precise chronology in the past. See footnote 112.

Cieza de León (1553) in *El Señorío de los Incas*, chapter XII, states that in each Inca reign, three or four old men were appointed to keep the memory of the deeds of each of the Incas and to create songs about them. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) in his *Comentarios Reales*, book VI, chapter V, states that the accounts were composed in verse so that their descendants could remember the good deeds done by their ancestors. These epics were sung or represented in the *Aucaipata* (religious party), before the Inca and the attendant crowds. These stories had a moralizing intention: 'The descendants of Inca kings were only allowed to create songs about those kings who had not lost a province which they had inherited, who had not been wicked or timid and if between the kings one was negligent, a coward, given to vices and one that was friendly with laziness without increasing the size of his empire, they ordered that of these kings there was no or very little memory left'.¹¹⁶ Furthermore Cieza argued that these songs could not be sung outside the presence of an Inca, and at the death of the monarch referred to these old men would approach the new Inca and, with their eyes fixed to the ground and their hands lowered, they would say to him:

'Oh great and influential Inca may the Sun, the Moon, the Earth, the hills, the trees, the stones and your forefathers keep you from misfortune and make you prosperous! May you be happy and blessed by all who have

¹¹⁶*El Señorío de los Incas* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1976), chapter 11, p. 100.

been born. Know of the things that happened to your ancestors were as follows'.¹¹⁷

Then they would recite an unedited song of the exploits of the departed Inca, and these songs could only be told on days of great sadness or of rejoicing.¹¹⁸ While the notion of memorialisation was also common to the culture of the Spanish invaders, it is clear that the Incaic tradition of remembrance was seen as more distinct than it was similar. The world of the Incas was – perhaps not surprisingly – an alien world for the Spanish. Many of the chroniclers complained about the quality of the stories and the confusion that was created in the different accounts by the *Amautas* and *Khipucamayocs*. Each in order to glorify their *panaca*'s founder accredited conquests to their Inca, which had already been designated to other Incas by members of other *panacas*, resulting in contradictions which the Spanish chroniclers could not understand. The chroniclers did not consider the fact that many Incas had to re-conquer tribes that rebelled against the authority of the incoming Inca, as we shall see in the case of the Chanca war.¹¹⁹

For a number of reasons, as suggested by the varied circumstances attending the composition of the historical narratives, it is difficult to group the chronicles, which were written over a period of around one hundred and twenty years. They differ according to the time they were written

¹¹⁷ *El Señorío de los Incas*, Chapter xii, p. 112.

¹¹⁸ Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas*, Chapter xii.

¹¹⁹ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu*, pp. 43–55.

and where; the profession of their authors; the literary and historical quality of the written work; and even their individual political bias. Their profession understandably had an influence on the way the chroniclers wrote, whether they were clergy or soldiers, legislators or naturalists, Spanish, mestizo or Indian, whether they acted by order from a viceroy, like Toledo or Pizarro, or whether they wrote out of curiosity and interest, like Cieza de León. Some of the early classificatory systems used rather crude common denominators such as race and profession. José de la Riva Agüero, in his work, *La historia en el Perú* (1910), for example, classified the chroniclers according to their origin, dividing them into either Spanish, mestizo or Indian chroniclers; his study only dealt with the chroniclers that were born in Peru, such as Blas Valera, Garcilaso (1609), Santa Cruz Pachacuti (1613) and Titu Cusi Yupanqui (1570).¹²⁰ Luis Alberto Sánchez, for his part, divided the chroniclers in his study *Historia de la literatura peruana* according to whether they were historians, doctrinaires or catechisers, lawyers or apologists for the conquest.¹²¹ An influential early study was Robert Clement Markham in his *The Incas of Peru* (1912). Markham classifies them into two groups, based on their nationality and their profession. He sub-divides the Spanish into several groups; there are the soldier chroniclers who described their deeds in the conquest or the civil war, such as Xerez (1534), Sancho (1534), Estete (1533), Pedro Pizarro (1571), Cieza (1553), Betanzos (1551)

¹²⁰ José de la Riva Agüero, *La historia en el Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1910).

¹²¹ Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Historia de la literatura peruana* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1951).

and Sarmiento (1572); there are the geographical chroniclers who were generally administrators commissioned to describe the conquered lands for the purposes of administration, such as the authors of *Relaciones geográficas de las Indias*; there were the legislative chroniclers whose aim was to procure information on the judicial and political institutions of the empire, such as Polo de Ondegardo (1571), Santillan (1563) and Matienzos (1567); and, finally, there were the religious chroniclers whose concern was the extirpation of superstitions, rites and myths of the Indians, such as Cristobal de Molina (1575), Acosta (1588-1590), Blas Valera (lost chronicle), Cabello de Balboa (1602-1603), Murúa (1616) and Las Casas (1559).¹²²

Philip Ainsworth Means, whose work has already been discussed in Chapter 1, in his work *Biblioteca Andina* (1928), as already noted, chose to divide up the chroniclers according to their opinion on Inca history, that is whether they were Garcilasans who followed Garcilaso de la Vega in their sympathy for the Incas, or Toledans who sought to prove that Incas were barbaric, tyrannical and deserved everything they got.¹²³ Louis Baudin, a French economist and historian possessed of a more sophisticated

¹²² See Clement Markham, *The Incas of Peru* (London & New York, Thames and Hudson, 1912).

¹²³ Philip Ainsworth Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931), p. 205.

classificatory system, classified the chroniclers in his book *El imperio socialista de los incas* (1928) into five types:¹²⁴

1. Those who saw the Inca Empire before and during the conquest, such as Xerxes (1534) (1985), Estete (1535?), Sancho (1534) and Pedro Pizarro (1571), all of them soldiers.
2. Chroniclers who arrived after the destruction of the empire, such as Zárate (1555), Cieza (1553), el Palentino (1571), Gutiérrez de Santa Clara (c. 1600) and Benzoni (1565).
3. Chroniclers who did not travel to Peru and instead gathered their information from the returning commentators and conquistadors such as Las Casas (1559), Gomara (1552) (who was probably not, as is believed by some ethno-historians, in Peru), Oviedo (1549), Herrera (1599), and Román y Zamora (1575).
4. Chroniclers who gathered their information from the descendants of the Incas in the time of colonization, such as Garcilaso, Sarmiento, Santa Cruz de Pachacutec Yamqui, Molina el Cuzqueño, Santillan, Ondegardo, Matienzos and Juan de la Bandera.

¹²⁴ Louis Baudin, *L'Empire Socialiste des Incas* (Paris: Flammarion, 1928).

5. The Spanish historians of the seventeenth century, mainly ecclesiastics and licentiates, who gathered their information from what had been written before, as were Murúa, Lizárraga, Calancha, Arriaga, Anello Oliva, the anonymous Jesuit, Montesinos and Cobo.

Franklin Pease was the last of the historians and ethno-historians to introduce a new classification system for the chroniclers; subsequent historians, for example, simply used a pre-existing classification. In *Las crónicas y los Andes* Pease discusses the historical sources and their use in Andean history.¹²⁵ He deals mainly with what he considers the most prominent chroniclers of the various periods, from conquest to colonisation, bringing into his argument the examples of the chroniclers who contributed extensively to the debate of Inca history. Mentioning his sources in chronological order he starts with Agustín de Zárate then continues with Pedro Cieza de León, Juan Diez de Betanzos, Martín de Murúa, Guaman Poma de Ayala, Fray Gregorio García, Bartolomé de las Casas and ends with the chronicle of El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega.

Perhaps the most useful classification of the chroniclers, however, was that provided by Raúl Porras Barrenechea who classified the chroniclers as follows:

1. Chroniclers of the discovery who wrote about the trips and geographical

¹²⁵ Franklin G.Y. Pease, *Las Crónicas y los Andes* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1995).

exploration from 1524 to 1532, when the Spanish arrived in Perú. They are soldiers, civil servants, secretaries and sea captains or pilots, such as Pedrarias, Jerez, and Carvallo.

2. Chroniclers of the conquest who were mainly soldiers who wrote about their own experience of the conquest, such as Xerxes, Sancho (both secretaries to Francisco Pizarro), Cristóbal de Mena, Miguel de Estete, Pedro Pizarro and Diego de Trujillo.

3. Chroniclers of the civil wars which developed from 1538 when the conquistadors divided themselves into factions, either on the side of Pizarro or of Almagro who became enemies when they fought for the possession of Cuzco. These civil wars lasted until the defeat and execution of Gonzalo Pizarro in Xaquixaguana by La Gasca in 1550. The chroniclers of this period are more cultured and many of them were keen to research the history and the economic and political structure of the Inca Empire. Many of these chroniclers sympathized with the plight of the Indians, such as Cieza, Zárate, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, el Palentino, Calvete de la Estrella.

4. Chroniclers of the Inca realm: The chroniclers of the Inca realm began writing during the civil wars between the Spanish in the kingdom of Peru and wrote until the

middle of the seventeenth century. The chroniclers during this period were mainly priests and lawyers, though there were some soldiers such as Pedro Cieza de León and Juan de Betanzos.

Because of the number of chroniclers during this period, Porras Barrenechea sub-classifies them, and produces two new categories of classification, the pre-Toledan Chroniclers (before the arrival of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo) and the Toledan Chroniclers (who wrote their work during and after the viceroyalty of Viceroy Toledo). In what follows I propose to adopt this classificatory system when discussing the issues of chronology and genealogy of the Inca Kings.

The Pre-Toledan Chroniclers

This pre-Toledan stage begins in the 1550s and continues up until the arrival of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1569. It was during the early part of this period that the first two chronicles about the Inca culture, *El Señorío de los Incas* by Pedro Cieza de León and *Suma y narración de los incas* by Juan de Betanzos were composed. Royal orders arrived from Spain asking the governors of the regions to send details about the description of the lands, of its natural resources, its social organisation, and its rites and customs. These questionnaires remitted by Phillip II's administrators became the basis of *Relaciones geográficas* published later by Jiménez de la Espada. Further chronicles are derived from these questionnaires, such as *Conquista y población del Perú* written by an anonymous author at about 1552 or *Relación de Chíncha* written by fray Cristóbal de

Castro and the chronicle written by the licentiate Diego de Ortega y Morejón, *Relación de los Agustinos*, in 1561. It was also during this period that an anonymous chronicle appeared, *Destrucción del Perú*, criticizing the Spanish conquistadors.

The Toledan Chroniclers

This stage begins with the arrival of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1569 and ends with his departure some ten years later. Under the auspices of Viceroy Toledo the chroniclers classified as pertaining to this period wrote specifically in order to prove that:

- The Inca Empire was formed rapidly, by the use of violence and force, during the realms of Pachacutec and Tupac Yupanqui.
- The Incas were tyrannical and belligerent rulers who had cruel rites and warring customs and that practised human sacrifices.
- The socio-political and economic structure of the Inca regime was admirable.
- An intensive study of superstitions and idolatries and a condemnation of the moral and religious ideals were justified.
- Spanish Imperial and political criteria should be observed.¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú (1528-1650) y otros ensayos* (Lima: Biblioteca Peruana, 1986), p. 39.

According to Porras Barrenechea, the Spanish affirmed and said that British historians, so as to malign the Spanish conquest of the Americas, had attributed these points to Viceroy Toledo.¹²⁷ However, as we shall see, the style of writing and the attitude the Toledan chroniclers was biased against the Indians.

The Informaciones de los Quipukamayoks written during this period has been the object of much debate. The interpreters subsidised by Viceroy Toledo adulterated the original declarations by the Inca *kipucamayocs*,¹²⁸ adjusting the information received from them when following the questionnaires set by the Consejo de las Indias and making it fit the stipulations set by the Viceroy, hence creating confusion to present-day historians and ethno-historians attempting to interpret this chronicle. The merit of this chronicle is that it claims to have compared the information received from the *kipumasters* with information received from the provinces conquered by the Incas. However, we must assume that the *kipumasters* read the information from the *kipus*, and one has to take for granted that the text given by the *kipucamayocs* is more reliable than the information provided by the provinces which, as such, was based purely on memory, as the people of the provinces did not know how to read or write the *kipus* and had no other alternative form of script.

¹²⁷ Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú (1528-1650) y otros ensayos*, p. 39.

¹²⁸ The *kipucamayocs* were elders of the Incas who wrote, conserved and interpreted the *kipus*, the Incas system of knots and coloured ribbons which were used to remember the past and keep a record of possessions.

One particularly significant chronicler of this period was Polo de Ondegardo, who attempted in his writing to prove the just title and the right the king of Spain had over his newly acquired colonies and at the same time refuted what Bartolomé de las Casas had alleged about the abuses the Spanish were committing against the Indians. The importance of this work, *Informaciones acerca de la religión de los Incas*, is that Polo de Ondegardo studied the socio-judicial regimen the Incas had and the juridical treaties, which no other chronicle had dealt with at that time. The Jesuits were renowned for not conforming to the political agenda set by the governors and Viceroy of the new territories. Father José de Acosta was no exception to this rule; he not only studied the nature of the New World but was also a great defender of the Indians; hence he wrote *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* during the time of Viceroy Toledo. One of the most illustrative post-Toledan chroniclers was Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, the author of *Historia India*, in which he relates the recent tyranny and violence of the Inca people over the tribes they conquered, as seen earlier in History of the Incas. He was one of few chroniclers to actually give us a list of the so-called twelve Inca rulers that had governed the Incas from their origins. This list, as we shall see further on, was copied extensively by Cabello de Balboa and others which, in turn, as will be seen later, led to Rowe's hypothesis.

The Post-Toledan Chroniclers

The Post-Toledan era commences began with the departure of Viceroy Toledo and continued well into the seventeenth century. It was during this period that the first cultured *mestizo* chronicles appeared. The children of

Spanish conquistadors with the daughters and sisters of Inca nobles wrote these chronicles. Their mothers and their Inca relatives brought them up. They were bilingual in Spanish and Quechua and had been told the history of the Incas according to the interpretation given to them by the *panaca* to which they belonged.¹²⁹ They wrote extensively about the socio-political, economic, religious rites and customs the Incas and other ethnic groups had. It is during this time that the Jesuits and other denominations of the Catholic religion dedicated their efforts in learning and studying the Quechua and Aymara languages, henceforth translating the catechism and sermons into these indigenous languages.

Nearly all of the post-Toledan chroniclers claim to have acquired their information from the *quipus*, reflecting the interest and regard these chroniclers had not only for Inca history but also for folklore and myth. It is clear that many of the post-Toledan chroniclers had a deep sympathy for the Incas. They gathered the remnants of Inca traditions and formed opinions, which contradicted chroniclers of earlier periods. Among these were the Indian and *mestizo* chroniclers such as Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, Blas Valera (whose chronicle is yet to be found), Santa Cruz de Pachacuti and Guzman Poma de Ayala. Among the Spanish chroniclers of this period are Cabello de Balboa, Montesinos, Murúa, Anello Oliva and the anonymous Jesuit, author of *Relación de las costumbres antiguas de los*

¹²⁹ The members of *panaca* were responsible not only for conserving the narrative of family history but also conserving the mummies of the Incas.

naturales del Perú, who, according to Pease, was probably Blas Valera.¹³⁰

The essence of this research is based on the analysis of the chroniclers who wrote about the history of the Incas, mainly found in Porras Barrenechea's *Los cronistas del Perú*. In this study many chroniclers have been referred to; however, there are certain chroniclers who wrote more than others about Inca history, some of them gathering the information given to them by the *kipucamayocs* and other sources and relating their stories without prejudice. However, others narrated the stories told to them by interpreting and distorting them to fit what the representatives of the Spanish crown such as the Viceroy Toledo in the newly conquered territories wanted to hear.

One bone of contention among the historians of the Inca Empire is the role played by the war with the Chancas in that event. Thus chroniclers such as Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1609)¹³¹ and Bernabé Cobo (1653)¹³² suggest that it was Viracocha and not Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui who defeated the Chancas. The majority of the remaining chroniclers, however, such as Betanzos (1551)¹³³ and Cieza

¹³⁰ Franklin Pease G.Y., *Las Crónicas y los Andes* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1995), p. 198.

¹³¹ El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas, and General History of Perú*, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1966).

¹³² Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Biblioteca de autores españoles, 1964).

¹³³ Juan de Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los Incas*, ed. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1880)..

de León (1553),¹³⁴ argue that it was Pachacutec who defeated the Chancas. This issue is particularly important for the argument pursued in this thesis because it relates directly to the chronology of the expansion of the Inca Empire. It is generally accepted that the fillip and incentive for the expansion of the Inca Empire was provided by the defeat of their powerful rivals the Chancas by the Incas. Given that Viracocha – in all of the genealogies provided of the Inca Kings – predated Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, if it was indeed Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui rather than Viracocha who defeated the Chancas this would imply that the expansion of the Inca Empire did, indeed, occur at a later date. If, however, it can be proved that it was Viracocha and not Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui who defeated the Chancas this would suggest that the expansion of the Inca Empire occurred at an earlier date than has hitherto been accepted. In this thesis, although I accept the hypothesis that Pachacuti Inca Yupanaqui did defeat the Chancas, I shall be exploring the hypothesis that the expansion of the Inca Empire **pre-dated** the defeat of the Chancas.

Pedro Cieza de León

Pedro Cieza de León, the son of Lope de León and Leonor de Cazalla, married Isabel López de Abreu, daughter of Juan de Llerena, a merchant from Trigueros, and María de Abreu, and, as suggested by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen,¹³⁵ he petitioned in March 1535 for permission to

¹³⁴ Pedro Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas*, ed. Franklin Peese G.Y. (Caracas: Ayacucho, 2005).

¹³⁵ Harriet de Onis, *The Incas of Pedro Cieza de León* (Oklahoma: Norman University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), p.xxxv.

travel to the New World sailing on the ship *Cifuentes* from the city of Seville. At the early age of approximately thirteen, Pedro Cieza de León left Spain and migrated to the New World, arriving in Cartagena, now in Colombia. In 1537 he transferred, probably with his master, to the army of Juan de Vadillo. There are records of him in 1541 working as a soldier under the command of Alonso de Cáceres and Jorge Robledo in the town of Santa Ana de los Caballeros, in the north of what today is Colombia, and it was during the autumn of this year that he started writing his chronicle.

He then joined the forces of Sebastián de Benalcázar with whom he went to Peru. He would write his chronicle with great effort as he travelled through Colombia and then Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, what used to be the Inca Empire, after joining Viceroy La Gasca's forces as a soldier pursuing Gonzalo Pizarro's rebel forces from Tumbes to Cuzco, Charcas and eventually Xaquixaguana, where they finally defeated and captured Pizarro, who was hanged. During the day Cieza would perform his duties as a soldier. At night, he would sit and write notes about what he had learned. But what instigated Cieza to write his chronicle? As Harriet de Onis cited in English, Cieza himself answers this when he states:

For travelling hither and yon and as I saw the strange and wonderful things that exist in this New World ... there came upon me a great desire to write certain of them, those which I had seen with my own eyes and also what I heard from highly trustworthy persons ... so ... taking heart, with mountain (sic) confidence, I determined to devoid (sic) a

part of my life to writing history, being moved to do so by the following reasons: First, because I had taken notice that wherever I went, nobody concerned himself with writing aught of what was happening, and time destroys the memory of things; and second, considering that we and the Indians all have the same origin ... it was right that the world should know how great a multitude of these Indians were brought into the sanctity of the church.¹³⁶

Though self-critical, Cieza argues that he wrote the chronicle because he wanted to describe the events and beautiful things of this strange new world. In his *Crónica del Perú*, Cieza draws up a composite picture of life in Peru, describing in great detail the territory, its plains, mountains, rivers, valleys, cities and describing the inhabitants of each region, their customs, beliefs, vestments and habits, demonstrating his undoubted ability as a geographer and ethnographer. Furthermore he reveals a great aptitude as a historian, describing in detail the Inca civilization, its discovery and conquest and relating the Spanish civil wars. However, Cieza provides us with some confusing information, such as information gathered by *kipucamayocs* and other ethnic tribe leaders about the way he gathered and wrote his work. He assures us that in 1549, bearing letters of introduction, written by La Gasca, he travelled to the region of Charcas to see the provinces and cities, asking the *corregidores* (a mayor with judicial

¹³⁶ Harriet de Onis, *The Incas of Pedro Cieza de León*, p.xli.

powers) to cooperate with him when inquiring about his investigations. He also argues that he had access to La Gasca's official documentation. He also states that he carefully scrutinized the contributors of these stories. He very rarely, however, supplies the names of his informants.

It is his second book, *El Señorío de los Incas*, which is of particular importance to this thesis, as it concentrates on the history of the Incas. This is the first comprehensive work about Inca civilisation. Before this there are only scarce and conflicting notes about the Incas, written by chroniclers such as Sancho, Estete and Xerez.

Cieza argues that he acquired the information given to him from *kipucamayocs* (writers of the knotted strings) and other reliable sources, but he never mentions anyone in particular. It is likely that Betanzos was one of the sources of his narrative because there are echoes of some details of Betanzos's narrative in Cieza's account; indeed, the two men may have met because it is known that Cieza visited Cuzco where Betanzos lived. Although Betanzos originally fought on Gonzalo Pizarro's side, when captured by de la Gasca's troops he changed sides and probably met Cieza then or later when Cieza visited Cuzco as a civilian where Betanzos resided.

Pedro Cieza de León was highly regarded by his peers and recognised as an able chronicler. He was even given the title 'prince of chroniclers' by Jiménez de la Espada.¹³⁷ Cieza described all that we know about the tribes of Colombia, in the Sinu, the Cauca and the tribes in

¹³⁷ Franklin Pease G.Y., *Las Crónicas y los Andes*, p. 192.

Ecuador. He was the first chronicler to do a meticulous study of Inca culture, at the same time describing the ethnic groups they had conquered and discussing their differences in customs, dress and conduct. He was the first to describe pre-Inca ruins such as Tiahuanaco, Huari and Chavin, recognising that cultures prior to the Incas had built them.

Pedro Cieza published the first part of his *magnum opus*, which he called *Primera Crónica*, on 15 March 1553 after obtaining permission to do so from Prince Phillip II. It would be the first and only print in Spain until its reprint in 1862. This first edition was very successful, as all 500 copies were sold. Cieza then published a second edition of *Primera Crónica* in Flanders, which was still under Spanish rule, as it was less expensive. This edition was published by Martin Nucio the printer, who a year later published a work by Agustín de Zárate. Further editions of the first part were published in Antwerp. The book was translated into Italian in 1555 and then into French and German. There exists a translation in English published 150 years after it was first released.¹³⁸ Cieza then concentrated on updating and getting ready the second volume, which he called *La Segunda Parte de la Crónica del Perú que trata del Señorío de los Incas Yupanquis y de sus grandes hechos y Gobernación*, as well as the other histories. However, he did not manage to complete this work as his premature death prevented him from doing so. In 1553, Cieza buried his wife, something that must have brought considerable pain to him, as his testament attests. Not long afterwards, Cieza was himself on the verge of dying; he was suffering and paralysed, to the

¹³⁸ Franklin Pease, *Las Crónicas de los Andes*, p. 198.

point at which he could hardly sign his name, from a tropical disease which he picked up when in the Americas.

In my thesis I have concentrated on the second book, *El Señorío de los Incas*, in which Cieza described the Inca culture, customs, manner, dress, warfare and conquests, and elucidates the greatest extent of the Inca Empire. In *El Señorío de los Incas* he inquires about the Inca past by talking to *curacas* of the provinces, and visiting the temple of *Huari Huilca*, where he was also shown the use of the *kipus* by Guacarapora. Cieza listened to Chirihuana stories from the governor about the ancestors of the Collas. He talked to old conquistadors such as Juan de Pancorbo and Peralonso Carrasco, and gathered information from Cayo Tupac Yupanqui and other *kipucamayocs* in Cuzco about the official version of Inca history. Cieza describes in the first part of his work, which was the only book that was published during his short but very productive life, the geography, the customs and habits of the ethnic groups that lived in the Central Andes. However, he wrote several books describing the various aspects of Inca history, conquest and the beginning of the colonial period. Cieza states in the first book that he wrote several tomes which he named as follows:

1. La crónica del Perú;
2. Del Señorío de los yngas yupangues;
3. El descubrimiento y conquista deste reino del Perú;
4. Las guerras civiles del Perú, divididas en cinco libros

La Guerra de Salinas,
La Guerra de los Chupas,
La Guerra de Quito,
La Guerra de Huarina and
La Guerra de Jaquijahuana.

In his second book, Cieza analyses Inca history from its legendary beginnings to the development of the Inca Empire, ending in the wars between Huascar and Atahualpa. It is considered by present day ethno-historians such as Rostworowski, Pease and Porras Barrenechea¹³⁹ to be one of the works of greatest value about the history of the Incas, and it is probably the single most consulted work on Inca historiography. This second part was begun in 1547 when Cieza arrived in Peru. He completed this work in Cuzco in 1550. This second book begins with a summary vision of the era before the Incas and ends with the victory of Atahualpa over Huascar in the province of Paltas near Cajabamba. This book contains three parts of unequal length; the initial part is covered in the first eight chapters and contains notes about the pre-Inca period, dealing with the deluge, Ticiviracocha and the arrival of the apostle, the inevitable myth of the four Ayar brothers and the founding of Cuzco by Manco Capac.

¹³⁹ 'Fuente primigenia desde los inicios de la historiografía española sobre los Andes, su obra es mencionada elogiosamente o citada como información segura. Diversos cronistas apenas posteriores a Cieza emplearon la *Crónica*, manuscrita o impresa; extremo fue quizás el caso de Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas, Cronista Mayor de Indias, quien incorporó en sus célebres y difundidas *Décadas* capítulos enteros de la obra de Cieza de León, mencionándolo apenas'; quoted in Franklin Pease G.Y., *Las Crónicas y los Andes*, p.191.

One can assume that should the first two chapters be found they would probably deal with remote myths and fables of the ethnia(s) in the Collao region. Chapters 9-30 deal with the official history of the Incas, describing in detail the laws, customs, *kipus*, buildings, *chacrus*, the style of conquests, tribute, *chasquis*, *mitimaes*, royal roads, sacrifices, the richness of the temples and the religious practices and celebrations. The third part finishes with chapters thirty-one to seventy four, ending the book, in which Cieza de León mainly deals with the succession of the Inca kings or political history relating the succession from Sinchi Roca to Huascar and Atahualpa, describing their deeds and conquests. The first Incas are described briefly as little memory had remained of them, and then he goes on to the final Incas where he describes the conquest from Pachacutec to Huayna Capac.

This book offers an excellent compilation of many histories which resulted from questioning people on site, of oral information painstakingly gathered throughout his extensive travels, questioning *curacas* throughout the provinces, and the official version of history gathered when he was in Cuzco where he had the opportunity to question several *kipucamayocs*. Cieza reminds us frequently about the direct way he gathered his information such as when he says 'no tengo otros testimonios ni libros que los dichos destos indios' (p. 6), and 'no tengo otra relación ni escriptura que la que ellos dan' (p. 13), sometimes correcting his peers as when he corrected Gómara in his *Historia de las Indias* where he said that the *mitimaes* were 'like slaves' and Cieza say 'en estos descuidos caen todos

los que escriben por relación y cartapacios, sin ver ni saber la tierra de donde escriben' (p. 73).

A large part of his book is derived from histories told to him in Cuzco in the beginning of 1550, the governor being captain Juan de Saavedra. Cieza gathered a group of noble *kipucamayocs*, among them Cayu Tupac Yupanqui, direct descendant of Huayna Capac, together with the best translators they could find. He obtained from them a vast amount of information which was the official version of the Imperial past. However, more towards the margin of this 'official history' Cieza listened to contradictory information such as dissent and provincial traditions, which did not comply with the historical view of Cuzco. It is about this that Cieza, who was meticulous, had doubts when he states that 'unos afirman que sí y otros afirman que no' (p. 133), and 'porque en muchas cosas varían, diciendo unos uno y otros otro, y no bastara juicio humano a escribir lo escripto si no tomara destos dichos lo que ellos mismos decían ser más cierto, para lo contar' (p. 173) and often he discusses the sources of the ambiguous information, and the reason for their ambiguity.

The Cuzco version, which is the core of this book, is characterised by a list of informers such as the Indian governor Chirihuana (p. 7); Don Juan, a Cacha chief (p. 11); Guacarapora from Jauja (p. 36); the Chinchá chief (p. 217); and the leaders of Jauja and Collao. He gathered information from historical songs such as found in *Del señorío de Los Incas* (pp. 9, 31, 34, and 70). Though sometimes he does not give us the correct citation when he makes vague statements which are cited in *El Señorío de los Incas* such as 'los indios

que a mí me lo dijeron' (p. 9), 'algunos indios decían' and 'dicen algunos de los indios' (p. 223).

There are several places where Cieza doubts some parts of the information provided to him. Problems arise as to the place of birth of Atahualpa or whether he took the Inca symbol during or before his imprisonment by the Spanish. When describing two or three battles in some Inca war, he discusses whether Chincha was conquered by force or through peaceful means, or whether Huayna Capac was buried in the Angasmayo River or in Cuzco. However, one perceives that he is attempting to reach the truth about what was the Inca past, as difficult as this might appear. He even includes Inca Urco as an Inca king. Even though all of his informants laughed because Urco had been erased from the list because he had been a bad Inca king, Cieza insisted in placing him in the list because he had been a king. He compares the mythical songs sung by the Indians about their past to the ballads and verse commemorating past deeds in contemporary Spanish culture ('como entre nosotros... romances y villancicos') with which he was clearly familiar. This is an important factor which I shall address later on when discussing the number of Incas that had been kings and some that had been erased from the list, indicating that the Incas had been in the Cuzco region much longer than stated by Rowe.

Cieza is probably the first Spaniard to appreciate the existence of pre-Inca cultures. He demonstrates this in his book when he describes the ruins of Tiahuanaco and when he writes about the kingdom of Hatuncolla. However, as with Garcilaso he writes about pre-Inca times as being a time of remote and confusing barbarity, which lasted until

the Inca imperialistic expansion. Cieza describes the Incas' cities and roads as a marvel of engineering putting the Incas above the Romans and Alexander the Great, as well as the most powerful kings in the history of the world. He does not find anything in Spain that could equal or rival the splendour of Coricancha or, particularly, Sacsayhuaman, and he blames the Spanish conquistadors for having partially destroyed it, stating that the remnants of this fortress should have been kept for posterity in order to show the world in the future the greatness of these people. Cieza is sympathetic towards the Indians' plight, and even when he writes about their human sacrifices he says:

‘Publican unos y otros – que aún, por ventura, algún escriptor destos que de presto se arroja lo escribirá –, que mataban, había días de sus fiestas, mil o dos mil niños y mayor número de indios; y estos y otras cosas son testimonio que nosotros los españoles levantamos a estos indios, queriendo con estas cosas encubrir nuestros mayores yerros y justificar los malos tratamientos que de nosotros han recibido. No digo yo que no sacrificaban y que no mataban hombres y niños en los tales sacrificios; pero no era lo que se dice, ni con mucho. Animales y de sus ganados sacrificaban, pero criaturas humanas menos de lo que yo pensé, y hartos, segundo contaré en su lugar’ (*El Señorío de los Incas*, p. 88).

Cieza's admiration for the Inca Empire emerges powerfully when he describes the social order imposed by the Incas.

Cieza de León claimed that his information came from reliable sources, in the main *Khipucamayocs*. It is important to underline, however, that every *Khipucamayoc* belonged to an individual *panaca* and, as such, was minded to recount events in a way which would be acceptable to the Inca founder of the *panaca*. Cieza states that the incoming monarch would often change the official historical record if it did not satisfy him; it was quite possible, therefore, for deeds and conquests to be re-attributed to another Inca monarch if the memory of a particular Inca was not pleasing to the new Inca. It was not only the descendants of the Inca monarchs who recounted a variety of versions of Inca history; the conquistadors themselves, as we shall see, also provided their own versions of Inca history, and these had to be appropriate accounts for the Spanish King and/or Viceroy.¹⁴⁰

One distinctive characteristic of Cieza de León's historical account is that it proposed that it was Pachacutec who defeated the Chancas. Cieza de León prepares the way for the glorification of Pachacutec's deeds by presenting his predecessor as an immoral, cowardly drunkard in chapter XLIV of *El Señorío de los Incas*:

Habíase casado Inga Urco con su hermana
para haber hijo en ella que le sucediese en el

¹⁴⁰ For this reason some would argue that an empirical 'truth' can never be truly accessed.

señorío. Era vicioso y dado a lujurias y deshonestidades que, sin curar de ella, se andaba con mujeres bajas e con sus mancebas, que eran las que quería y le agradaban; y aun afirman que corrompió a algunas de las mamaconas que estaban en el templo.¹⁴¹

Cieza de León subsequently recounts how Urco was stripped of his Inca title: 'Y por consentimiento del pueblo acordaron de que Inga Urco no entrase más en el Cuzco y que le fuese quitada la borla o corona y dada a Inga Yupangue'.¹⁴² This was a result not only of his cowardice but also because of the great valour shown, in Cieza de León's account, by Pachacutec. With the Chancas ringing the city of Cuzco, Inca Yupanqui (Pachacutec) is asked by the elders to take over from Urco; he goes to the ceremonial war square, calls the Incas to arms, chooses his bravest captains, and attacks the Chancas, winning the battle: 'mas tanto fue el valor del Inga Yupangue que alcanzó la victoria de la batalla con muerte de los chancas todos'.¹⁴³ Cieza de León subsequently recounts more of his brave exploits; he left Cuzco with his army and conquered the Curanba tribe (chapter XLVII, p. 401), as well as the Soras (chapter XLVII, p. 402, which extended the Inca Empire considerably. As Cieza de León suggests: 'Muy grandes cosas cuentan los orejones de este Inga Yupangue e de Topa Inga, su hijo, e Guaynacapa, su nieto, porque estos fueron

¹⁴¹ *El Señorío de los Incas*, chapter XLIV, p. 396.

¹⁴² *El Señorío de los Incas*, chapter XLVI, p. 399.

¹⁴³ *El Señorío de los Incas*, chapter XLV, p. 399.

los que se mostraron más valerosos' (chapter XLVIII, p. 467). The distinctiveness of Cieza de León's account is that it promotes the Pachacutec-Topa Inca-Huayna Capac triumvirate as the most successful of the Inca Kings, and indicates that Urco was once a king before he was deprived of that title, and subsequently excised from the official record.

Juan Diez de Betanzos

There is no real evidence as to where Juan de Betanzos was born, although the best evidence suggests that he was born in Galicia in 1510.¹⁴⁴ A number of questions arise from his biography. According to Jiménez de la Espada, Betanzos arrived in Peru with Pizarro's forces.¹⁴⁵ However, Porras Barrenechea in *Los Cronistas del Perú* (p. 309), states that he does not appear in any documentary evidence, nor list, not even as a witness before the Spanish civil wars. His name does not appear as one of the Inca Atahualpa's captors, nor as one of the founders of Cuzco, Lima or Trujillo, not even as one of Alvarado's soldiers. Porras adds that a Juan de Betanzos is mentioned as residing in Cuba in 1539; however, Franklin Pease, in *Las crónicas y los Andes* (p. 230), suggests that he was identified as a Juan de Betanzos who had been a sixteen-year resident in Santo Domingo ending in 1539 when he wrote a letter to the *Consejo de las Indias*. However, there is evidence that shows that it was not uncommon for two persons of the same name to have arrived in the New World or that two

¹⁴⁴ Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú (1528-1650) y otros ensayos*, p. 309.

¹⁴⁵ Franklin Pease G.Y., *Las Crónicas y los Andes*, p. 230.

other Juan de Betanzos lived in Peru at that time; this is supported by Lockhart, Porras and Pease who state that there were two Miguel de Estetes living in Peru and Thayer and Rivera, who say that there were more than two Cristóbal de Molinas in the kingdom of Nueva Granada.¹⁴⁶ The Juan de Betanzos supposedly residing in Santo Domingo had left a wife and two children in Spain. The version of our Betanzos contradicts the story of Betanzos residing in Santo Domingo as he was to marry to Doña Angelina and when widowed took as a wife Catalina de Velasco from Spain. Further, the author of *Suma y narración de los Incas* signed himself as Juan Diez de Betanzos.¹⁴⁷

Father Angulo confirms that Betanzos was appointed official translator by Francisco Pizarro, a title that was conferred on him later by the *Audiencia de los Reyes*. It is interesting to note this fact since it suggests that he may have arrived in the New World some time before 1539, as it would have taken him time to apply himself to learn the *Runasimi Quechua* language, as at that time there were no dictionaries or documents already translated and therefore he would have been one of the first people to learn the Inca language. Betanzos states that he spent six years of his youth translating Christian doctrine for the priests.¹⁴⁸ Pease argues in *Las crónicas y los Andes* that Betanzos participated in *Informaciones*, which were ordered by the second viceroy of

¹⁴⁶ Franklin Pease G.Y., *Las Crónicas y los Andes*, p. 230.

¹⁴⁷ The edition used in *Suma y narración de los incas*, ed. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1880).

¹⁴⁸ Franklin Pease, *Las Crónicas y los Andes*, pp. 228, 229, 230, 231.

Peru, Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, reputedly in 1542,¹⁴⁹ and were summarized by Fray Antonio in 1608. Betanzos participated as an author who knew something about the Inca language before becoming an interpreter. As mentioned above, this is inconsistent with what father Angulo stated. After the death of Francisco Pizarro, Betanzos married his first wife Cusi Rimay Ocllo, also known by her Christian name of Doña Angelina, daughter of Huayna Capac and Pizarro's mistress. It was probably Doña Angelina's family who provided Betanzos with the majority of information on Inca traditions and history. Many things have been written about Doña Angelina; however, very little is known about her appearance or her character, except that she had married to Atahualpa, or at least betrothed to him, then became Pizarro's concubine and, finally, married Betanzos. These facts in themselves indicate the social significance of this individual.

It is known that during the slaughter at Cajamarca where Atahualpa was taken prisoner, she accompanied and stayed with him until his execution and, by 1538, she had become Pizarro's mistress, bearing him three children, two boys and a girl, one of the boys dying at an early age. She remained with Pizarro until he was killed in 1541 and then married Betanzos in 1544, remaining with him until her own death. From Betanzos's narrative one can assume that Doña Angelina was a member of the *Hatun Ayllupanaca*, descendants of Pachacutec. According to Betanzos's version she was the grand-daughter of Yamque Yupanqui, Pachacutec's eldest son. During the Spanish civil wars

¹⁴⁹ Franklin Pease, *Las Crónicas y los Andes*, p. 231.

Betanzos enlisted under the banner of Gonzalo Pizarro and fought under the orders of Carbajal, also known as the *Devil of the Andes*, following him to Charcas against the forces of Centeno. Betanzos was highly regarded by Carbajal and was commissioned to go in aid of some soldiers under the command of Valdivia whom he had sent to Chile. Soon after he was captured by La Gasca's forces in Santa, when attempting to deliver a letter to Gonzalo Pizarro who was in Lima at the time. He was drafted by La Gasca and became part of the expedition that defeated Gonzalo Pizarro in Xaquixaguana. Around this time he was found to be living as a resident of Cuzco in the area of Carmenca. He was commissioned to translate a book of Christian doctrine, which aided the Jesuits to publish their first book of complete prayers and colloquialisms in 1584. Later he is found residing in Lima working as an official translator for the Viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, who ordered him to write about those Inca traditions he understood, which he completed in 1551 and entitled *Suma y narración de los Incas*. Married to Doña Angelina, who bore him two children and, having returned to Cuzco, he acted as an intermediary, because of his knowledge of Quechua and his contacts with the Inca elite, between the Viceroy and the rebel Indians of Vilcabamba, who were led by Sayri Tupac. After the civil wars he became mayor of Xaquixaguana and, subsequent to the death of Doña Angelina, he married Doña Catalina de Velasco, remaining in Cuzco until his death on 1 March 1576.

Kerstin Nowak, in *Las intenciones del autor: Juan de Betanzos y la Suma y narración de los Incas* published on

the Web and in Dedenbach-Salazar Saenz,¹⁵⁰ argues that in 1551 and, perhaps during the first part of 1552, Juan de Betanzos, a resident of Cuzco, wrote his *Suma y narración de los Incas*. He divided it into two parts. The first part dealt mainly with the Inca theme, especially to its most prolific emperor, Pachacutec, and the second with the history of the Inca civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa. Betanzos's work is considered as one of the first and most important histories of the Incas. However, the problem with this chronicle is that it is heavily based on the history told by one single *panaca*, the *panaca* of Pachacutec. Unlike Cieza de León, who was much more versatile in gathering and weaving together information drawn from several *Khipucamayocs* from different *panacas* and nobles from tribes, Betanzos followed one line of argument in his account. Nevertheless, Betanzos's work was known by his contemporaries and even later chroniclers, although only a quarter of the text was published, until María del Carmen Martín Rubio published a complete version after finding the manuscript in Palma de Mallorca, Spain, in 1987. Nowack claims that Betanzos provided a more trustworthy account, which was closer to the Indian point of view than other Spanish chroniclers as he had been married to a woman of Inca nobility and he knew Quechua. His work undoubtedly benefited from his association with his noble wife's family and his knowledge of the language, both advantages aiding

¹⁵⁰ Sabina Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz, Carmen Arellano Hoffman, Eva König y Heiko Prümers, '50 años de estudios americanistas en la Universidad de Bonn: Nuevas contribuciones a la arqueología, etnohistoria, etnolingüística y etnografía de las Américas', *BAS*, 30 (1998), 513-26.

him to write a comprehensive and unique version of Inca history. Nowack suggests that, as in other chroniclers of the time, many inconsistencies and biases are found in his book, probably because it is not only a historical book but a vehicle designed to attest to the rights his wife and her family had to lands which had been owned by Pachacutec and his *colla*.

Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Saenz has shown that Betanzos's text follows closely Quechua structures, inferring that the text was translated as opposed to being narrated as Cieza did in his version of Inca history.¹⁵¹ Some scholars such as Nowack argue that Betanzos's work is not without bias and that his narrative is highly influenced by, and in favour of, his wife's relatives, and thus highly prejudiced against other *panacas* that existed at that time. It is clear to the reader that Betanzos gathered information directly from the family of his wife, as the first part is dedicated to Pachacutec (the ninth Inca of the list of Incas provided by Sarmiento and Cabello) praising his conquests, administration and deeds. Similarly, in his second part, when describing the civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa it also appears to be biased. Atahualpa, according to Betanzos and other chroniclers, was a member of the *panaca* of Pachacutec, as was Doña Angelina. Hence, in his text a bias in favour of Atahualpa is seen clearly, whereas the descendants of Tupac Yupanqui's *panaca* had been on the side of Huascar and therefore were severely punished by

¹⁵¹ Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Saenz, et al., '50 años de estudios americanistas en la Universidad de Bonn: Nuevas contribuciones a la arqueología, etnohistoria, etnolingüística y etnografía de las Américas', *BAS*, 30 (1998), 513-26.

Atahualpa's generals and, hence, given a less generous review.

The most prominent figure in Betanzos's chronicle was – as mentioned above – Pachacutec. In his narrative he describes how, with hardly any help, he defended Cuzco from the Chanca attack and fought his half-brother Urco to succeed his father Viracocha, as well as re-organising Inca society, initiating a programme of reconstruction in Cuzco and conquering vast amounts of lands, hence extending the empire considerably. Betanzos, in his chronicle, describes the various aspects of Pachacutec's reign. In the first part of his chronicle he describes Pachacutec's efforts to defend Cuzco from the barbarous Chanca confederation, whilst his father and half-brother Urco were negotiating the terms of surrender with Uscovilca, the chief of the Chanca confederation. The relevant passage is as follows:

Viracocha Inca en esta sazón tenía siete hijos; tenía uno de ellos menor de todos, el cual se llamaba Inca Yupanqui, y en aquel tiempo que Viracocha Inca se quería salir del Cuzco, este su hijo Inca Yupanqui, aunque era menor, era mancebo de gran presunción y hombre que tenía en mucho su persona, y pareciéndole mal que su padre Viracocha Inca hacía de desamparar su pueblo y quererle dar a subyugación, así como ya se había ofrecido, parecióle que era mal caso y gran infamia para las gentes que desto tuviesen noticias; y viendo que estaba acordado por su padre y los demás señores del Cuzco de se salir, prepuso en sí de no

salir él y juntar la gente que pudiese, y ya que Uscovilca viniese, el no darle tal obediencia, sino morir antes que decir que vivía en subjeción; y que por ventura podría juntar tanta gente y su ventura ser tal que venciese al Uscovilca, y así se libertaría su pueblo.¹⁵²

Betanzos's account, as we can see, points an accusing finger not only at Pachacutec's brother -- namely, Urco, as in Cieza de León's account, but also at Pachacutec's father, Viracocha Inca, because of his cowardice in accepting terms from Uscovilca, the leader of the Chancas. As mentioned in chapter 2, this was a highly charged accusation, and it is not surprising that there should be so many different accounts of such an event. Betanzos's account shows how Pachacutec, against all the odds, manages to defeat the Chancas and even capture the highest Chanca emblem during a battle, at great risk to himself. Betanzos argues that Pachacutec went to Yucay to ask his father Viracocha to step over the conquered enemies, a custom that was practised by the Incas when defeating their enemies. Viracocha told Pachacutec that he was not the Inca anymore and that he should give this privilege to his half-brother Urco, which Pachacutec refused to do, as he did not recognise Urco as Inca. At this point one of Pachacutec's captains overheard a conversation between Viracocha and Urco in which they were plotting to ambush Pachacutec on the trail when returning to Cuzco. The captain related this to

¹⁵² *Suma y narración de los incas*, ed. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel G. Hernández, 1880), Chapter VI, pp. 24-25.

Pachacutec and he prepared for a counter ambush. So whilst on the road to Cuzco, Pachacutec was only with his personal guard. Urco, unaware of the rest of Pachacutec's army who were pursuing him and his troops, poised to attack Pachacutec and did so. Then the rest of Pachacutec's troops counter-attacked, defeating Urco and forcing him to flee. Pachacutec arrived safely in Cuzco and the population wanted to crown him as Inca, which he refused, as he considered his father, Viracocha, as still the regent Inca (Chapter XVII). Eventually Urco gathered an army and went to meet Pachacutec and his brothers' troops. Betanzos argues that Pachacutec's forces defeated Urco and his army and, when Urco was attempting to escape, he was caught on a river and killed by one of Pachacutec's brothers. Viracocha was never to return to Cuzco but, eventually, when hearing that it had not been Pachacutec who had killed Urco, he agreed to give him the *Mascaypacha*, hence crowning him Inca of the empire.¹⁵³ It is only late in Pachacutec's life that his children suddenly appear in the text. However, it is in this part of the text where Betanzos appears to be biased.

Betanzos appears to have not understood what he was told by his in-laws' relatives for he mentions in one part that the Colla (principal wife of the Inca) had Yamque Yupanqui as her eldest son and that Tupac Inca Yupanqui was his second son. However, further on he states that Pachacutec had three children with his Colla, naming them

¹⁵³ The *Mascaypacha* was the symbol of kingship for the Incas; this elaborate headpiece was given to the Inca during the ceremony of his ascension to the throne.

as Yamqui Yupanqui, already mentioned, Amaro Topa and Paucar Usno, failing to mention Tupac Inca Yupanqui as one of the children. Kerstin Nowack¹⁵⁴ suggests that if Tupac Inca Yupanqui was one of his children then he must have been a lot younger than Yamque Yupanqui. However, one possibility is that Tupac Yupanqui had never been one of Pachacutec's children. It is more likely that he was his grandson or great-grandson. Betanzos appears to have misunderstood his in-laws since he contradicts himself when he refers to Pachacutec's children.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, Betanzos uses his chronicle to prove the rights of his wife Doña Angelina to Pachacutec's lands. However, Betanzos does attempt to give us a factual version of Inca history but his version is that of his in-laws who belonged to the *panaca* of Pachacutec and therefore related the account of history that was accepted by Pachacutec's *panaca*. It is important to realise that each *panaca* kept a version of Inca history that favoured the memory of their Inca monarch, therefore the Incas and conquered tribes gave distinct versions of Inca history. Furthermore Spanish chroniclers such as Sarmiento de Gamboa and Polo de Ondegardo were obliged to give a historical account that satisfied the Spanish crown, but which 'corrupted' the account of the events of Inca history.

¹⁵⁴ Kerstin Nowack's argument is quoted in Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar Saenz, et al., '50 años de estudios americanistas en la Universidad de Bonn: Nuevas contribuciones a la arqueología, etnohistoria, etnolingüística y etnografía de las Américas', *BAS*, 30 (1998), 513-26..

¹⁵⁵ This raises the possibility that Betanzos's in-laws told the 'official' Inca history, although it is unlikely.

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa

The *Historia de los Incas* or *Historia Indica* by Pedro de Sarmiento de Gamboa is part of a very ambitious project, which was never finished. It was born of the necessity to justify the reasons for the Spanish conquest as a consequence of the *visita general* (1570-1575) ordered by Viceroy Toledo. A first part should have included a geographical description of the lands conquered by the Spanish in South America, the third part should have dealt with the conquest and evangelization of the Indians, but they had not been written at the time the document was remitted to the Spanish court. The second part, which relates the Inca history, was apparently written from information received from old and wise indigenous people and the evidence given by the Spanish survivors of the first encounters with the Indians some forty years after the Conquest took place. Though it appears at first sight to be an ideologically unbiased document, throughout the text there exists a bias against the Incas and the desire to prove the right the Spanish had to conquer these peoples.

Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was born in Alcalá de Henares or in the province of Pontevedra in or about 1532. Many considered him as an intellect of his time, as he was a writer, cosmographer, astrologer, scientist, humanist, classicist and a formidable navigator. His father was Bartolomé Sarmiento from Pontevedra, Galicia and his mother was María Gamboa from Bilbao. Although he is referred to in some sources as a 'gentleman of Galicia', confusion arises as to the place of his birth probably because during the time of the Catholic Kings the Galician people had been persecuted and their institutions and culture

destroyed hence, as a result of which many of nobles in Galicia refused to refer to their origins. What we know from historians and Sarmiento himself is that during his youth he spent much time sailing in Galicia, which is where he learnt how to navigate. It must have been during this time that he attended university at least for a period of time, as he had knowledge of classical languages and cultures.

When he was eighteen years old he left home to join the wars in the service of Spain and probably fought between 1550-55 in Austria, Milan, the Rhine and Metz, where the army of Charles V was almost annihilated. In 1555, he decided to go to the New World where he would spend the next twenty-six years of his life fighting the indomitable nature and the natives of the various parts of the Americas. Though most of the Americas had already been conquered, the most inhospitable areas with vicious tribes, the Pampas and the Strait of Magallanes to the South still needed to be explored, conquered and populated. He first arrived in Mexico where he remained for the first three years. Little is known about this time, except that he had problems with the Inquisition and was publicly flogged in the Square of Puebla, by order of the Inquisition, for defaming and burning an effigy of someone called Diego de Rodríguez, resident of Puebla.¹⁵⁶

Parece – si hay que creer las actas de la inquisición de Lima (*Viajes*, II, 271) - que fué azotado públicamente en la Puebla de los Ángeles, ‘porque había hecho y ordenado una

¹⁵⁶ Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia de los Incas*, p. 16.

estatua con un sambenito y una sentencia en forma contra un Diego Rodríguez, de la Puebla, vecino y encomendero de aquel pueblo, a intercessión de unos sobrinos del Obispo de Tlaxcala que estaban mal con el dicho vecino, e que por la dicha sentencia condenaba por el Santo Oficio de la Inquisición a ser quemado el dicho vecino'.¹⁵⁷

In his own writings he states that he was in Guatemala and Chiapas during the time of bishop Bartolmé de las Casas. He would then go to Peru where he would reside for the next twenty years. As a result of the consolidation of the conquest *La Ciudad de los Reyes* (Lima) was enjoying a decade of expansion. During this time Sarmiento saw the opportunity of personally benefiting by climbing up the social ladder, because of his ample culture and knowledge and, thanks to the Marquis of Cañete, second viceroy of Peru, he was given a Chair in grammar at the University of San Marcos with a salary of four hundred pesos. It is also during this time that he travelled extensively throughout the viceroyalty of Peru where he met wise old indigenous people who spoke to him about the events which had occurred to the Incas in the past.¹⁵⁸

Sarmiento is well known for his *Historia de los Incas*. One of the important aspects of his text is that it presents a negative view of Viracocha, the eighth King of

¹⁵⁷ Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia de los Incas*, p. 16.

¹⁵⁸ Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia de los Incas*, p. 17

the Incas, and a very positive view of his son, Cusi Inca Yupanqui. Thus Inca Yupanqui rebukes his father for taking bad advice and agreeing to flee Cuzco rather than fight against the Chancas:

‘How father? How has it entered your heart to accept such infamous advice as to leave Cuzco, the city of the Sun and of Viracocha, whose name you have taken, and whose promise you have that you shall be a great lord, you and your descendants?’¹⁵⁹

Similar in this respect to Betanzos’s text, Sarmiento’s narrative provides ample evidence of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui’s concerted and brave struggles against the Chancas, and, even after he won victory for his father, Sarmiento’s text suggests the lack of warmth between father and son:

Having won this great victory, so rich and plentiful in spoils, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui proposed to go to his father to give him an account of the events and victories and to show his obedience so that Viracocha might celebrate his [son’s] victory. Thus, loaded with all the spoils and Chanca prisoners, he went to visit his father. Some say that Viracocha Inca was in a town called Caquia Xaquixaguana, four leagues from Cuzco; others, that [he was] in Marco, three leagues

¹⁵⁹ *The History of the Incas*, translated and edited by Brian S. Bauer and Vani Smith (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), p. 106.

from Cuzco. There, where he found him, Pachacuti made a great obeisance and gave gifts, which they call *mochanaco*. After telling his father the story, Pachacuti Inca ordered the spoils of the enemies to be placed before his father's feet and pleaded with him to tread on them and celebrate the victory. But Viracocha Inca, still determined to leave Inca Urco as his successor, wanted the honour that was offered to him to be enjoyed by Inca Urco. Thus he did not want to accept the triumph for himself. (Sarmiento, *The History of the Incas*, p. 113)

This passage at the very least shows subterfuge and deception on Viracocha's part compared with bravery and courage on Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui's part. This passage also explains why, in Sarmiento's account at least, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui decided to seize power even without his father's consent:

'When Inca Yupanqui saw that he was so strong and that many people were flocking to him, he decided not to wait until his father appointed him as successor or at least until he died; before long, he rebelled with the people of Cuzco, proposing to attack outside the city' (Sarmiento, *The History of the Incas*, p. 114).

Given the evidence presented by this text of the major difference between father and son – caused, it should be added, by the contemporaneous war with the Chancas – it

should therefore not surprise us to learn that there are such sharp divisions of opinion with regard to the relative merits of Viracocha and Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. The falling out between father and son was not only crucial in that it related to the issue of succession between one generation and the next among the highest echelons of power among the Incas, it was central to the evolution of the Incas because it was the crucial point at which the Incas broke ranks with their neighbours and asserted their military and subsequent economic superiority over and above all the surrounding communities and peoples. It was the point at which Inca history forked, and it was also the point at which the narrativisation of that history bifurcated – dividing up commentators between those who supported Viracocha and those who supported Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. The war between the generations was also translated into a war of words. Sarmiento's *Historia de los Incas* follows Toledo's edicts in the sense that it presents a jaundiced view of the legitimacy of the Incas but – in the process – it also drew attention to a crucial aspect of historical narrativisation as carried out by the Incas, namely the struggle over the truth of the Inca past which various *panacas* were actively involved in even many years after the actual participants were long dead and buried. For the Incas, clearly, the past was more important than the present, and the past offered a lens through which the present could be understood.

Miguel Cabello de Balboa

Father Miguel Cabello de Balboa (also known as Valboa) was born in Archidona, Malaga, Spain. His birth date and date of death are unknown. However, in the prologue written in 1951 by Luis E Valcárcel, it says that

Miguel Cabello de Balboa was born around 1530-35. The only references about his childhood are provided by the author himself when he states that he found himself as a child in Antequera and later in Valladolid in 1555. He was originally a soldier who had fought in the wars in Flanders during the years 1558 to 1564 under the orders of Don Rodrigo de Bazán, as well as in France. In 1564 he states that he was in Malaga where he had a friendship with a Catalan gentleman, Enrique le Amat. A year later he was in Jerez de la Frontera. He arrived in South America in 1566, first known as a resident of Santa Fe de Bogotá, where he met and befriended the conquistador Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada and a friar called Juan de Orozco. In 1571 under the patronage of Bishop de la Peña he became a priest in Quito. That same year he left Popayán with General Bartolomé Marín to explore the provinces, which are near the South Sea. Towards the end of that year he joined, as a chaplain, the expedition to Choco led by Captain Diego de Bazán. During 1572 he was given the curacy of Funes.

We are told, by Valcárcel, that during July of that year he was in Pasto. He remained between Pasto and Funes until 1574. He became a catechizer of the Chunchos in 1574-75. In 1576 he moved to Quito where he started writing his *Miscelánea antártica*. In 1577 he was sent to pacify an uprising by African slaves in the provinces of Esmeralda and takes the opportunity to explore the Bay of Tacamez. He returned to Guayaquil, where he wrote a letter to Viceroy Toledo. Early in 1578 he was once again in Quito. He then travelled to the province of Yumbos, reaching Niguas in March and, after determining the shortest route to the sea, he returned to Quito. In August, together with Bishop de la

Peña he returned to Niguas, returning to Quito in September. In December, in the company of captain Marín, Rodrigo Núñez and fifteen soldiers, he was sent to pacify a rebellion by the Indians of Quijo who had destroyed the city of Avila. Early in 1579 he was once again in Quito. He was then given a curacy, in which he remained until August of 1580, and where he continued writing his *Miscelánea*. Towards the end of this year he set off towards Lima, stopping in Lambayeque, where he met Juan Roldán Dávila, with whom he left his manuscript, *La verdadera descripción de las Esmeraldas*, probably written during the years 1579-81. This is also probably where he learned of the Naymlap legend, in which he told the story of the love of a cacique's son, Efquen Pisan. With this story, as Barrenechea argues, Cabello de Balboa mixed myths, legends and historical facts, thereby creating a type of 'historical fiction':

La historia de Cabello de Balboa es una amena y algo confusa relación de los diversos reinados de los Incas. El nombre de *Miscelánea* le viene bien, intercala leyendas novelescas y lances de amor que se entremezclan a los sucesos históricos, tales como la leyenda de Naylamp, los amores de Efquen Pisan, hijo del cacique de Lambayeque y Chestan Xecfuin y la historia sentimental de Quilaco Yupanqui con Curi Coillor. Este amor al lado folklórico no amengua la autoridad del cronista ya que el mismo advierte el origen tradicional de sus relatos. Sus datos históricos provienen de fuentes más seguras: conoció la Historia de

los Incas, perdida del padre Cristóbal de Molina, la cual declara seguir y, seguramente, la historia de Sarmiento de Gamboa con la que coincide muchísimo, sobre todo en la última época incaica....(Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú*, p. 456)

It is clear from the language he uses that Barrenechea sees Cabello de Balboa's reference to the facts of history as being more important than the 'folklore' which is mixed up in his account, but he indicates that a substantial part of Balboa's work is based on what he calls 'folklore'. We know that Rowe and Menzel relied a great deal on his chronicle for their interpretation of Miguel Cabello de Balboa's chronology. This allows us to question, perhaps, the credibility and reliability of their conclusions.

Cabello arrived in La Ciudad de los Reyes in the beginning of 1581 and was promptly given the curacy of San Juan Bautista de Ica. In 1582 he returned to La ciudad de los Reyes to attend the III Concilio, presided over by Archbishop Toribio de Mogrovejo. He met Diego de Zuñiga, with whom he established a strong friendship, and discussed his *Miscelánea*. The congress lasted well into 1583. His friend and mentor, bishop de la Peña, died in March of that year, as well as the Viceroy Martín Enríquez. It is possible that during this time he also established a strong friendship with father Cristóbal de Molina. He then returned to his duties as a priest in Ica. During this year his friend, Juan Roldán Dávila, when in Trujillo, presented the manuscript left with him for publication. In 1586 he was once again in Trujillo and, in July of that year, finished

writing his *Miscelánea Antártica*. He returned to Ica where he continued his duties as priest and met Juan López de Cepeda who dedicated his book *Verdadera Relación* (now lost) to him. Nothing is known about him until 1593 when he was in Alto Perú, somewhere between Chuquiabo and Cuquisaca; from May to September in 1594 he was with an expedition to the Chunchos, visiting Camata, Mayacata, Supisami, Suamasi, Pasaramo, Huguama, Tacana, Masinari, Ixiama and San Adrian de Chipoco. In 1596 he wrote his *Orden y traza para descubrir y poblar la tierra de los Chunchos y otras provincias*. In 1604 he was working as priest in the parish of Camata (Larecaja). After this there are no more details and, though there is no documentation, it appears he died in 1608.¹⁶⁰

Though his chronicle, *Miscelánea Antártica*, is his most important work, he was also the author of other books such as comedies and poems. Throughout his chronicle he cites the names of many persons. Some were only acquaintances, others friends. However, some were learned men who advised him throughout his career, both as a writer and a priest; others were important informers. Before he arrived in the New World he already had a passion to find the origins of the American Indians. Luis Alberto Sánchez suggests that a copy of the original manuscript of *Miscelánea Antártica* was in New York's public library.¹⁶¹ However, there is another version, which was published by

¹⁶⁰ Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Los Cronistas del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 1962).

¹⁶¹ Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Literatura peruana*, 2 vols. (Lima: Encuadernaciones Perú, 1928), vol II, p. 75.

Ternaux Compans, and had been translated into French and then back into Spanish. In the 1920s both Phillip A. Means and Luis E. Valcárcel set out to publish the New York edition. It was not possible in the beginning, as they could not raise the capital to do it. A photocopy was sent to Lima and promptly they started typing the hand-written document. Whilst doing this they came across a published version by Don Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, who had recently died. After receiving a copy of it, sent to them by the publisher of the document, and perusing it, they decided to continue with their version. Suddenly another document appeared on the scene. This was even signed by Cabello, which was in the hands of a Mexican scholar, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, who had revised the ten books and, in the ninth book, they found Cabello's biography, which had been unknown until then. García had written that the manuscript was the original *Miscelánea*, signed by the author, and that he knew it was originally in the library of the Count Duke de Olivares. The Institute of Ethnology immediately determined to find out what had happened to the library of this eminent scholar. They approached La Comisión de Historia del Instituto Panamericano de Historia y Geografía, who promptly told them that the manuscript was not found in the library but that if Means and Valcárcel had approached the University of Austin, Texas, they might have bought it. In fact, when they inquired, that was exactly what they found. The university had bought all the manuscripts in the García Icazbalceta collection and there was the *Miscelánea* in the collection. The university promptly sent them a photocopy

of the original with which they could confirm that there were no major differences in the copy they had, apart from the ones mentioned in the appendices.¹⁶² Apparently, Henry Ternaux Compans had owned the manuscript in the New York Public Library until 1850. The presence, however, of the manuscript in Paris is unexplained. It then came to be part of the Obadiah Rich collection, which was bought by James Lenox of New York. In 1896 the Astor and Lenox libraries merged and everything came to be part of New York Public Library.¹⁶³

The history of the original document is just as intriguing. According to Antonio León Pinelo and Porras Barrenechea, the manuscript was part of the library of the Count Duke De Olivares in 1629.¹⁶⁴ Four years earlier he obtained, from King Phillip the IV, an order whereby all books and papers of the different matters should be handed to the Count for safekeeping. When he died his widow sold, or gave away, all of this historic documentation. The Danish ambassador, Cornelius Pederson Lerche, who resided in Madrid from 1642 till 1662, acquired many of these documents, hence taking with him back to Copenhagen many manuscripts which could have included, among the texts, the chronicles by Guaman Poma de Ayala, found in Copenhagen, and that of Sarmiento de Gamboa, later found in Gotinga. The manuscript of the *Miscelánea*, however, remained in Spain. It became the property of a lawyer called Andrés Brizuela. It then went to the monastery of Monserrat

¹⁶² Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Literatura peruana*, vol II.

¹⁶³ Luis Alberto Sánchez, *Literatura peruana*, vol II.

¹⁶⁴ Barrenechea, *Los cronistas del Perú*, p. 457.

Madrid (1807). Nearly a century later, in 1892, it became the property of Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta. On his death it came to be property of his family and eventually his grandson, Luis García Pimentel, sold all the manuscripts to Austin University, Texas in 1938.

According to Means, Cabello de Balboa started his historical studies in Santa Fe de Bogotá where he studied under the tutelage of the Franciscan priest, Juan de Orozco.¹⁶⁵ The evidence suggests that he had a discussion with the bishop of Quito, de la Peña, about the origins of the American peoples. Not long after this he drew a map tracing the possible route to the Americas followed by Noah's descendants, although this has been lost. Part I of *Miscelánea* deals with the creation of the universe, the Earth as well as mankind, following closely the book of Genesis, until the first destruction of the world by the deluge. He then describes what God gave to Noah and his descendants and how they started settling the earth and populating the different continents, continuing to argue that Ophir, a grandson of Noah, was the ancestor of all the peoples that populated the Asian continent. The second part of the book deals with the origin of the Indian population, being descendants of the patriarch Ophir and how his descendants started populating the islands when threatened by invading armies and eventually how they arrived in the Americas. Cabello brings into the argument several theories that had been postulated during his time and/or earlier, refuting them by proving that they are not possible. It could be characterised as an early archaeological approach since he

¹⁶⁵ Means, *Biblioteca Andina*, p. 35.

refutes some of the other theories by saying that there is no material evidence to sustain them. He shows an extreme familiarity with the geography of the world, as well as ancient history, and the wars and empires that had existed since the beginning of history.

La provincia de Batria es numerada entre las que pertenecen á la mayor Asia (según Pomponio Mela de situ Orbis) su asiento está entre los montes Emodos (o Cordilleras del Cáucaso, que todo es uno) y el mar Caspio, llamado aora mar de Bacuc.¹⁶⁶

Balboa concludes the second part of his work by proving – in his own way – the similarities that existed between the rites, customs and ceremonies of the Indians of the Sub-Continent with those of the West Indies. Part III is of most interest to my research in that it deals with the ways in which the Indians of South America governed themselves before the arrival of the Incas. Balboa describes the coastal, Andean and jungle lands and the climates they had, mentioning at the same time volcanoes, rivers and glaciers. Balboa goes on to explain the way in which the indigenous population retained its history, giving us a detailed illustration of what the *Khipus* are and how the Indians used them. He then proceeds by giving us a detailed history of the Incas since Manco Capac, recounting the story of the four Ayar brothers, and how they entered Cuzco and defeated the indigenous ethnic groups that resided there. He also

¹⁶⁶ Miguel Cabello de Balboa, *Miscelánea Antártica* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Facultad de Letras, Instituto de Etnología, 1951), p. 119.

describes the reigns of each of the Inca kings in succession until he arrives at Pachacutec, where he gives us a different version of the Chanca wars, and how Pachacutec was an evil and tyrannical Inca King. Cabello de Balboa describes, for example, how Pachacutec became jealous of his captain's victory over the Chancas, and thought simply of how to enact revenge on him:

Donde le daban cuenta de la poca que los Changas avían hecho de ellos en aquel vencimiento de lo cual el Ynga Senor quedó no menos sentido y desservido que los demás general y Caudillos y aunque por entonces disimuló su indignación aguardó coyuntura más acomodada para tomar de ellos satisfacción, a la qual le incitava (no el hecho de los Changas que sin duda fue loable como se puede juzgar) sino la embidia de que ellos solos ganassen con tanta felicidad la victoria que la fortuna avía negado a los naturales Cuzcos.¹⁶⁷

Cabello provides a detailed account of the reigns of the last three Incas. He also describes the reign of Huascar and the arrival of the Spanish, the Inca civil war, the death of Huascar and his kinsmen and, finally, the death of Atahualpa, which is the point at which he concludes his chronicle. As previously mentioned, this extract is of great importance to my thesis, because Cabello copied extensively

¹⁶⁷ Miguel Cabello Valboa, *Miscelánea Antártica : una historia del Perú antiguo* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1951), p. 201.

from Sarmiento as did Murúa ¹⁶⁸ and was the second chronicler, after Sarmiento, to appear with a chronological list of Inca kings. Furthermore, and in this he is similar to Sarmiento, he explains that the conquest took part during the kingdoms of Pachacutec, to whom he refers as tyrannical, Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac. The problem here is that Rowe and Menzel rely on Cabello de Balboa as their main source. ¹⁶⁹ By copying Sarmiento, Cabello inadvertently became a chronicler who followed the spirit of the Toledan edict, which attempted to prove that the Incas had enacted a rapid and rapacious conquest of the territories surrounding Cuzco.

Agustín de Zárate

Historia del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú was written by Agustín de Zárate and published in Ambers in 1555. Thereafter, it was re-printed and translated into many languages. It is one of the most commonly known histories of the conquest of Peru and the Spanish civil wars. Although this was the strength of this chronicler, he is equally strong when relating Inca history. He was an eyewitness to the events that occurred in Peru during the time of the discovery, conquest, and the Spanish civil wars; hence it is essential reading to the scholar of the history of the conquest of the Inca Empire. He writes in a concise manner, providing an apparently unbiased report of the events that occurred at that time. The objectivity and impartiality of Zárate's chronicle allows his text to have an

¹⁶⁸ Quoted in Martti Pärssinen, p. 44.

¹⁶⁹ Martti Pärssinen, p.71.

historical significance. Zárate was, according to others and himself, a simple investigator of contemporary memories.¹⁷⁰ He claims to have followed the history written by the discoverer Rodrigo Lozano and he probably, according to Porras Barrenechea, also studied the works of Nicholas de Ribero el Viejo, as when in Lima he had stayed in his house. He is accused by Jiménez de la Espada of having copied extensively from the papers written by the Bishop La Gasca, which are kept in the archives of Madrid. Enrique de Vedia and Franklin Pease have said that the Zárate chronicle is one of the most beautiful historic documents of the Spanish language.¹⁷¹

Very little is known about Zárate's life; Vedia, for example, argues that there is no knowledge about his family or where he came from.¹⁷² However, according to Porras Barrenechea, it is known that he came from Valladolid or at least that is where his family home was, in calle Teresa Gil. He was probably born around the years of 1514 or 1515. Porras Barrenechea says that his father was probably López Díaz de Zárate, secretary of the Council for the Inquisition and his brother-in-law was Diego López de León, a scribe for the Inquisition of Granada. He more than likely received a humanities education, Cieza says that he was well read and

¹⁷⁰ Martti Pärssinen, p.72.

¹⁷¹ 'Hombre de erudición probada, Agustín Zárate hizo de su libro, escrito en hermoso castellano de la época, una pieza clásica de la historiografía americanista'; see Franklin Pease G.Y., p. 163.

¹⁷² Barrenechea, p. 165.

knew Latin.¹⁷³ By 1534 he was secretary to the Royal Council of Castile, the same year the Royal Council or the king appointed him as an accountant of the lands of Peru and mainland America. He left for the Indies in November of 1543 together with Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela, and some of his relatives, such as his brother Diego de León, and his cousin Ortiz de Zárate, who travelled with his wife and two sons and a daughter, whom Carbajal forcefully married to Blas de Soto, brother of Gonzalo Pizarro. Travelling with them was also the young licentiate Polo de Ondegardo, the future pioneer of the laws of the Incas and nephew of Zárate, son of his sister Doña Jerónima de Zárate. Porras Barrenechea says that prosecutor Villalobos accused Zárate of having sent his nephew to the castle of La Mota to visit Hernando Pizarro, who gave him money, because as a licentiate he could protect his interests in Peru. Sometime in March or April of 1544 they arrived in Peru.¹⁷⁴ Porras Barrenechea, like Pease, suggests that Zárate, even before his arrival in Peru, sympathized with the cause of the *Pizarristas*.¹⁷⁵ Porras Barrenechea suggests that a priest called Diego Martín, an agent of Hernando Pizarro who had brought with him a famous chef, was travelling in the ship,

¹⁷³ 'En sus tiempos precisaba Cieza de León: "Este Agustín de Zárate es tenido por sabio y leído en las letras latinas"'; see Franklin Pease G.Y., p. 163.

¹⁷⁴ Porras Barrenechea, pp. 215-19.

¹⁷⁵ 'Largas son las páginas que Zárate dedicó a la gesta de Gonzalo, el último Pizarro que gobernó en el Perú. Fueron muchas veces cautas sus palabras, pues su actitud fue considerada discutible y le ocasionó días de penumbra carcelaria, según Porras, en los cuales debió trabajar en su libro'; see Franklin Pease G.Y., p. 162.

which took them to the Indies. The Viceroy Núñez Vela did not take to him and said that Zárate was a slippery customer.

Once in Lima the Royal Audience commissioned Zárate to go and notify certain orders to Gonzalo Pizarro whose army was heading towards Lima. Gonzalo Pizarro or his henchman, Francisco de Carbajal, managed to scare Zárate, who returned to Lima from Pariacaca, not only without giving Pizarro what the Audience had ordered him to give him, but he brought back with him a letter written by Pizarro's captains in which they demanded that Pizarro be named Governor. It is said that Zárate helped to compose the letter demanding Gonzalo Pizarro's appointment as governor. Though Prescott is of the belief that Zárate did not take part in the civil wars in Peru, Porras Barrenechea believes he did, and even claims that on the day of the viceroy's imprisonment he was seen on horseback with an arquebus on his shoulder. Once Gonzalo Pizarro was installed as governor, Zárate became one of his closest admirers and friend.¹⁷⁶

Zárate then took accounts from the treasurer Riquelme and managed to collect 13,000 ducats from him. Francisco de Carbajal said in a letter that in order to obtain the money he sold everything he had including his shirts. After only one year in Peru Zárate managed to leave Lima in July 1545, during the time when Pizarro would not allow anyone to leave. As accused in Spain, it is probable that Zárate was given instructions by Pizarro that would serve his cause. In August 1545 he talked in favour of Pizarro,

¹⁷⁶ Porras Barrenechea, p. 219.

even impeding the captains Yllanes and Guzmán from going to the aid of the viceroy by denying them the money. Zárate reiterated in Mexico that nothing would be sorted out in Peru unless Gonzalo Pizarro was given the governorship he wanted.¹⁷⁷ When in Spain, he was asked by the Council of the Indies to explain what was happening in Peru; he defended Pizarro's stance and because of this was sent to jail in Valladolid where he came under the authority of his arch-enemy Villalobos. After six years he was released as no real proof was found against him. It was during his time in jail that Zárate corrected and edited notes of his chronicle, which he wrote in Lima. In 1554, he once again found himself in favour with royalty, and he travelled with Prince Phillip II from La Coruña to England. During the trip Prince Phillip asked him to read him his chronicle and having heard it, he ordered him to publish it, which he did in Antwerp in March 1555.

After this date it is only known that he continued in Flanders as a functionary of the Royal Estates and that in 1560 he was commissioned to clarify a problem about maritime tithes of the coast of Santander. In a document of July 1574, found by Porras Barrenechea, Zárate appears as an administrator of las Salinas de Andalusia. By 1578, Zárate was a very wealthy person and was planning to return to the Americas as governor of the Amazon region of Peru.

Zárate's chronicle is of great value mainly because of its ethno-geographical description of the Andean region and its contribution to Inca history, particularly the growth

¹⁷⁷ Porras Barrenechea, p. 220.

of the Inca Empire and the last Incas. His work coincides with Gomara's and both are the essence of Garcilaso's chronicle. His chronicle was published in 1555 and since then has been translated into several languages by ethnohistorians such as Bataillon and Duviols. It has been essential to the first studies about the history of the Incas and the initial presence of the Spanish in the Andes. He wrote in great detail about nature in the Andean and coastal regions, as well as about the different ethnic groups, their religion, myths and legends. He describes how the Indians conceived their origins, their rituals and what they thought about the underworld. However, these topics were omitted in the second edition, as it did not conform to the later Toledan policies. The original document's format was only kept in the copies, which had already been translated and were brought back to light by Marcel Bataillon.¹⁷⁸

The modifications to the original version of his *Historia* went beyond originally pointed to by Marcel Bataillon.¹⁷⁹ They were not limited, for example, to the suppression of the chapters dealing with Inca religious beliefs, which were frowned upon by the church in those days, but as Duviols has pointed out,¹⁸⁰ the 1577 Sevilla edition included alterations that changed Zárate's original views about the Incas of Cuzco.¹⁸¹ This was intended to

¹⁷⁸ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁹ Marcel Bataillon, *Le lien religieux des conquérants du Pérou* (London: Hispanic & Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1956).

¹⁸⁰ Duviols, *La historia del descubrimiento y de la conquista del Perú de Agustín de Zárate*, p. 38.

¹⁸¹ Franklin Pease, p. 162.

signal that he was in compliance with orders by Viceroy Toledo to prove that the Incas had been a vile nation which influenced the opinions of chroniclers such as Sarmiento de Gamboa. As pointed out by Duviols, quoted in Pease,¹⁸² he shows us the change of a fundamental text about the Incas' succession; in the first edition Zárate had said:

Estos yngas començaron a poblar la ciudad del Cuzco, y desde allí fueron sojuzgando toda la tierra y la hicieron tributaria, sucediendo por linea derecha de hijos del imperio, como quiera que entre los naturales no suceden los hijos, sino primero el hermano del muerto siguiente en edad, y después de aquel fallecido torna el señorío al hijo mayor de su hermano, y assí dende en adelante hereda el hermano déste, y después torna a su hijo, sin que jamás falte este género de sucesión.¹⁸³

This text was changed in the second edition to read as follows:

Estos yngas comenzaron a poblar la ciudad del Cuzco, y desde allí fueron sojuzgando toda la tierra y la hicieron tributaria; y de ahí adelante iban sucediendo en este señorío el que más poder y fuerza tenía, sin guardar orden legítima de sucesión, sino por vía de

¹⁸² Franklin Pease, p. 162.

¹⁸³ Franklin Pease, pp. 286-87.

tiranía y violencia; de manera que su derecho estaba en las armas.¹⁸⁴

Duviols noted that the first edition, which gave an impression of a regular, ordered, and a legal manner of succession did not correspond to the format that Toledo had set in *Informaciones* and Sarmiento in *Historia*. These modifications in the second edition established an empire that was disordered and subject to tyranny.

These modifications to Zárate's chronicle provide convincing evidence of the influence that Toledo and the Spanish crown exerted upon authors after the 1570s; their aim was to show the Inca state as a tyrannical people that made slaves of the ethnic groups they conquered, contrary to the claims made by earlier chroniclers about the Incas' benevolent attitude towards the ethnic groups they had conquered. Furthermore, it changes the concept of history perceived by earlier chroniclers in which the Incas had conquered not only by force but also through the use of negotiation as was the case of the Chincha people. As in the cases of Zárate and Sarmiento the stance adopted by Toledan and post-Toledan chroniclers – with the exception of indigenous chroniclers – has to some altered the veracity of Inca history and, it could be argued, thrown a number of ethno-historians off the scent.

El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega

Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's version of the history of the Incas differed from Sarmiento's and Betanzos's narratives. In his account Garcilaso de la Vega described the

¹⁸⁴ Franklin Pease, p. 288.

Incas as a civilizing influence over the corrupt and primitive tribes in the Cuzco region.¹⁸⁵ Inca Garcilaso's version differs from the version provided by Sarmiento de Gamboa in that it provides a much more sympathetic view of the Incas – they, for example, are portrayed possessing a divine purpose, and given an edict by their God 'the Sun' to teach and civilize the societies that existed in the Cuzco region. Inca Garcilaso was a mestizo Indian and as such he had been brought up by his mother, an Inca princess, and told the history of the Incas as narrated by his grandfather and uncles. The latter belonged to the *panaca* of Tupac Yupanqui who formed an alliance with Huascar, the losing pretender to the Inca throne, during their civil war. Hence, Inca Garcilaso's version is rather controversial and provides a different account of the Inca history than many of the other chroniclers, especially when it relates the story of the Chanca wars.¹⁸⁶ In particular it should be noted that Viracocha is presented in very flattering terms by Garcilaso de la Vega:

The unexpected victory, coming as it did after the dream, brought such prestige to the Inca Viracocha that he was adored during his lifetime as none of his predecessors had been, although he always tried to divert this excessive homage in favour of his uncle, the ghost, but in vain, since the people, in their

¹⁸⁵ *Inca Garcilaso de la Vega* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 1966).

¹⁸⁶ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu*, pp. 57-58.

naive credulity, confessed them one with the other.¹⁸⁷

Garcilaso's version relates that Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo came out from Lake Titicaca directed by their father the Sun with instructions to go and civilize mankind, which they did, at the same time uniting the tribes and forming the Inca civilization. As already mentioned, Garcilaso was told the Inca stories by his Inca relatives during his early years. However, he was not to write his chronicle until the latter part of his life. Furthermore, he was also restrained and censored by the Spanish government on what he could write and the way he could present it, as anything that was critical of the conquest or the viceroys, which followed, was seriously frowned upon and hence forbidden by the authorities. Garcilaso is accused by present-day ethno-historians such as Rowe, Porras Barrenechea and Rostworowski¹⁸⁸ of embellishing and altering the historical facts of his script to give greater significance to the *panaca* (clan) from which he descended. Rostworowski makes this point very clearly:

What are the reasons behind Garcilaso's hiding and distorting the historical facts? Rather than search for European motives, we must look for an explanation in the purest indigenous perspective with which Garcilaso viewed these events, which for him involved

¹⁸⁷ Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Incas*, ed. Alain Gheerbrandt (New York: Avon, 1961), pp. 172-73.

¹⁸⁸ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu*, pp. 57-58.

all the political passions of the Cusco *panaca*. Two major political factions confronted each other during the war between Huascar and Atahualpa. One consisted of the *panaca* of Tupac Yupanqui called Capac Ayllu, and the other of the *panaca* of Pachacutec, called Hatun Ayllu. Garcilaso was descended through his mother from the *panaca* of Tupac Yupanqui, to which Huascar also belonged, through his mother, Raura Ocllo. On the other hand, research shows, Atahualpa belonged through his mother to Hatun Ayllu. The wars of succession to Huayna Capac quickly became disputes and rivalries between these two royal clans. (...) All this accumulation of rancor and hatred increased by the burning of the mummy of Tupac Yupanqui and by the cruelty of Atahualpa's generals towards Huascar and his followers, affected Garcilaso profoundly and caused him to distort the historical facts.¹⁸⁹

The Chanca war became grist to Garcilaso de la Vega's mill. Pachacutec is an example, as he credits Viracocha and not Pachacutec as the Inca who defended the empire, whereas a host of other chroniclers such as Betanzos and Sarmiento de Gamboa clearly state that it was Pachacutec, who during the reign of Viracocha, defended successfully the city of Cuzco and eventually defeated the

¹⁸⁹ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca Realm*, pp. 33-34.

Chanca armies. Garcilaso de la Vega's account in the *Comentarios reales* recounts how Yahuar Huacac abandoned Cuzco at the threat of the arrival of the Chancas, and it fell to his son, Viracocha Inca, to save the day. When Viracocha hears of his father's cowardice, he remonstrates with him:

‘Inca, ¿cómo se permite que por una nueva,
falsa o verdadera, de unos pocos de vasallos
rebeldes, desampares tu casa y corte y
vuelvas las espaldas a los enemigos aún no
vistos?’¹⁹⁰

Thus begins the fame of Viracocha and the account of his great deeds, which takes up the entire fifth book of the *Comentarios reales*, beginning with the defeat of the Chancas. Garcilaso de la Vega takes some of the details from the other accounts – namely, the remonstrations of the son to his father – and turns the tables on Pachacutec by having Viracocha emerge as the hero rather than the villain of the piece as he had been cast in a number of chronicles, including those by Cieza de León and Sarmiento de Gamboa.

An important feature of Garcilaso de la Vega's version of the events of Inca history (i.e. the wars that the Incas carried out) is how easily it translates into the world of myth (i.e. where the Incas came from). It is clear that the early history of the Incas is more mythical than the narrative of the last Incas, i.e. when they are involved in wars with the Chancas). There are three myths, for example, relating the

¹⁹⁰ *Comentarios reales*, chapter XXIV, p. 212.

story of how the Incas arrived, under the leadership of Manco Capac, and settled in the area of Cuzco. One of the most important myths about the origins of the Incas, the version referred to in this text, has been taken from Sarmiento de Gamboa's book *Segunda parte de la historia general llamada Indica*¹⁹¹ which describes the four Ayar brothers and their respective four sisters, who left their *pacaraiña* (also known as *pacarina*)¹⁹² which was a cave in a mountain, called Tambotoco in Pacaritambo, and not far from the region of Cuzco. The four brothers were called Ayar Cachi, Ayar Auca, Ayar Uchu and Ayar Manco, the sisters were Mama Ocllo, Mama Huaco, Mama Cura also known as Mama Ipacura and Mama Raua. Through a number of misadventures all the brothers died but Manco Capac and their four wives arrived safely to set up their empire.¹⁹³ The third story told to us by Father Anello is not as well known.¹⁹⁴ In it he describes Manco Capac's heritage and about his birth in an island off the Pacific coast, how he and his people eventually left the island and how after a series of adventures eventually arrive in the Cuzco region. Manco Capac then convinced the locals that he is the son of the Sun God and after betraying his own people so that they

¹⁹¹ Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Segunda parte de la historia general llamada Indica* (Buenos Aires: Biblioteca Emecé, 1942), pp. 117-20.

¹⁹² The word *pacaraiña*, according to Inca mythology, is an imaginary place where all the peoples of the world were born. It could be a cave, a river, a lake, the sea or even a mountain.

¹⁹³ See also chronicle by Juan de Betanzos.

¹⁹⁴ R. P. Anello Oliva S J [1598], *Historia del reino y provincias del Perú, de sus Incas reyes, descubrimiento y conquista* (Lima: Imprenta y Librería de San Pedro, 1895).

could not recognize him, he became the semi-God leader of the tribes in the Cuzco region where he established his capital Cuzco. This story is not very well known; indeed Porras Barrenechea, in *Los cronistas del Perú*, refers to this story but he does so in a summary way and immediately turns to another topic.¹⁹⁵

Conclusions to be drawn from the early chroniclers

Since Means's important *Ancient Civilisations of the Andes* (1931) it has been customary to split the chroniclers into two groups, as we have seen, the Garcilasan and the Toledan. This distinction certainly holds, as we have seen in terms of the analysis provided by a selection of Peruvian chroniclers from Cieza de León to Sarmiento de Gamboa. But just as important as the evidence which such a distinction throws into relief about the divided – and politicised – nature of the accounts provided by the Incas is the existence of a sharp divide between the assessment of Viracocha and his son, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. This discussion has drawn attention, for example, to the struggles within the Inca family unit relating to succession – Sarmiento de Gamboa suggests that Viracocha was jealous of the feats of his son, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, and wished to confer the honours of succession on his other son, Inca Urco. In this context – and given the wealth of evidence pointing in a similar direction – the narrative provided by Sarmiento de Gamboa about this rivalry within the family unit has a recognisably human ring about it, which would, in

¹⁹⁵ This may be because the story indicates that Manco Capac's ancestors came from the region of Ecuador and the political rivalry between Peru and Ecuador in the 1940s made this a sensitive issue.

turn, suggest that Garcilaso de la Vega's version of Viracocha's prowess was a 'whitewashed' version of Inca history, one which attempted to airbrush Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui's rebelliousness out of the historical record. This, in turn, would tend to provide greater weight to Rowe's own favouring of Sarmiento de Gamboa over Garcilaso de la Vega, with reference to Viracocha's role in Inca history.¹⁹⁶

But while Rowe's instincts with regard to Garcilaso de la Vega may well have been perceptive, it led him to commit a fatal flaw, that of assuming all of the successes of the Inca Empire had occurred in the reign of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, thereby persuading him to argue for an extremely late flowering of the Inca Empire, a hypothesis which, as we have seen, had some serious flaws.

¹⁹⁶ Garcilaso de la Vega saw Viracocha as the hero of Inca history, unlike a number of the chroniclers, including Sarmiento de Gamboa. There is an irony here in that, although Garcilaso de la Vega was arguably the most eloquent of the chroniclers he was also the one who got one crucial detail wrong, namely, Viracocha's role in Inca history.

Chapter 3: Alternative Methodologies: From Ethno-history to Archaeology

The hermeneutical problem addressed in this chapter has been clearly stated by Susan Niles, namely, how is ethno-historic knowledge and information squared with archaeological data and knowledge? She has identified three specific problems that may arise if evidence is not treated with sensitivity, as follows:

1. Assuming the veracity of the ethno-historical evidence without corroborating it with archaeological evidence.
2. Independently developing the ethno-historical and archaeological research without reference to the archaeological research with the ethno-historical study or vice-versa
3. Proving or denying the veracity of the ethno-historical evidence through archaeological research.¹⁹⁷

In this chapter I intend to analyse a number of alternative methodologies which propose new readings of the chronology and genealogy of the Incas based on knowledge systems which are distinct from the chroniclers' texts. The chronicles are not, of course, the only source of knowledge about the history of the Inca Empire. Through reading the chroniclers many historians and ethno-historians of the present century have proposed several versions of

¹⁹⁷ Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), p. 61.

what they conceive Inca history to be. In this section I will attempt to dig deeper into some of the reasons why the historical sources written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are characterised by so many discrepancies in the interpretation of Inca history. Special emphasis is placed in this chapter upon the methods of historiography, which often operated with disregard to the socio-political and religious context of their source material. Attentiveness to this cultural context and frame of reference is of key significance to an appreciation of the way in which such 'historical laden' texts were constructed both by and for the Incas, or by and for Spanish colonial officials and clergy. This first part will raise the problematic issue of how and what the modern historian perceives and what constitutes Inca history. The essential problem to be addressed is how, when confronted with potentially inscrutable indigenous memory or mnemonic devices, such material can be incorporated into European historiographical practice. After relating a brief history of the generally accepted version of what Inca history is, the discussion will begin with the role of the Inca oral, iconographic and ideographic displays as well as the writing systems *kipus* (system of writing by making knots on cords), and the problems they pose for Inca history and chronology.

The chronicles written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are deeply problematic. Much subsequent work by historians and early ethno-historians has consisted of interpretations of Inca history based on these documents, thereby further complicating questions regarding the number of Incas, their chronological ascendancy to the throne, the chronological order of conquests, and the various

interpretations of history that already existed in the chronicles given by the different informants, such as the *panacas* and the *kipucamayocs*. Far from being scholars, the majority of Iberians that arrived in the Americas during the sixteenth century were soldiers of fortune that failed or did not care to understand the indigenous way of life. Furthermore, the Inca concept of time and space was completely alien to the European way of thinking.¹⁹⁸ Exactitude in terms of chronology was not required nor considered necessary by the Incas. As Cieza suggested in *El Señorío*, many facts or events were purposely omitted from their narratives, songs, paintings and *kipus* if they offended or were not wanted by the new Inca lord. They even went to the extreme of eradicating the memory of Inca lords that had previously reigned, and re-arranged events that took place during their reigns to please the incoming monarch, in order to gain political power. Silence and omission represented their way of changing history to please their new Inca lord.¹⁹⁹ It was only the members of *panacas* or *ayllus* that were affected by such an order that obscurely kept track of the deeds achieved by their lords. However, this caused much confusion among the chroniclers when gathering information from different *Khipucamayocs*.

In his chronicle, Cobo complained that the natives often mixed or confused certain events with others, adding:

¹⁹⁸ See discussion in footnote 112.

¹⁹⁹ Murúa, vol. 1, p. 28.

Es fuerza que los que oyen y tratan quieren sacar dellos alguna cosa a luz, sea con grandísima dificultad.²⁰⁰

Decía que los indígenas contaban el origen y principio de los Incas de muchas maneras: 'envolviendo tan grande confusión y variedad de desatinos que por su relación no es posible averiguar cosa cierta'.²⁰¹

Furthermore, early chroniclers found it difficult to dissociate themselves from European culture and from their European perspective, hence failed to isolate elements of Inca history. The art of eliciting South American folk history and braiding it into chronicles of European type, as Frank Salomon argues, 'was practised far into the seventeenth century, not only Inca lands but also the peripheries where less centralized native societies were less easily compared to European models of statecraft and worship'.²⁰² The Spanish who arrived during the early part of the conquest were not interested in writing accurate Inca history; their main preoccupation was in trying to prove that the cuzqueños did not have the right to occupy the extensive lands conquered through violence. Their intention was to prove the rights the sovereign of Spain had over the provinces included in the Inca Empire. They wrote in such a manner as to make the Spanish appear to be liberators of the indigenous cultures

³⁵ Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, vol. 2, p. 61.

²⁰¹ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras andinas del poder*, p. 102.

²⁰² Frank Salomon, *Testimonies: The Makings and Reading of Native South American Historical Sources* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), p. 25.

conquered by the Incas. These, and the many other factors mentioned above, made it difficult to understand Andean reality. The chroniclers, when confronted by contradictions, tried to solve them according to their criteria and perception of the civilisation of the time. In fact, the Spanish of the early colonial period were very much concerned with religion, legitimacy and the order of succession. They would not have understood the Inca custom of the most able succeeding to the throne on the death of a monarch.

There is one other problem with the chronicles which needs to be highlighted at this point, and this is their use of sources. Means (1928), Rowe (1946), Ballesteros-Gaibrois (1962), Porras Barrenechea (1962), Aranibar (1963), Lohman Villena (1966), Wedin (1966), Murra (1970), María Rostworowski (1970) and Pärssinen (1992) all acknowledge that the chroniclers freely used the wording and ideas of their forebears without always citing their sources. Though it would be seen as a case of plagiarism nowadays, for example, Román y Zamora had no qualms about copying Las Casas's *Apologetica historica sumaria*,²⁰³ Las Casas liberally used the works of Bartolomé de Segovia, as well as Cieza de León's *La Crónica del Perú*, and Xerez's *Verdadera Relación* and Estete's *Relación*, while Acosta drew extensively and without acknowledgement from Polo de Ondegardo and Cristóbal de Molina. Bernabé Cobo for his part used Polo de Ondegardo, Cristóbal de Molina, Pedro Pizarro, *Informaciones de Toledo*, Acosta, Garcilaso de la Vega, Luis Jerónimo de Oré, García de Melo,

²⁰³Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu*. p. 53.

Francisco Falcón and Ramos Gavilán, while Santillan copied from *Señores*, which in turn came from *Relación de Chíncha* by Castro y Ortega Morejón. This makes it particularly difficult for the scholar in that one cannot always ascertain the provenance of a particular passage. The above fact makes it all the more pertinent to identify a set of synchronic texts which can be used as a benchmark with which to evaluate the truth-value of the chronicles. Two sets of texts spring to mind – contemporary legal texts such as probate documents, complaints and the reports created as a result of government-funded ‘Visits’, as well as the *quipus* – though each set of documents have their own problems and limitations which need to be clarified before any truly meaningful comparison can be made.

Probanzas, Pleitos, Visitas and Extirpaciones

Further evidence of the Inca way of life, their conquest, religion and organisation may be found in the *visitas, probanzas, pleitos and extirpaciones*. The *visitas* and *extirpaciones* were documents which were ordered by the Spanish administration or religious orders for the benefit of better organising the Indians, through the *encomiendas* (large plots of lands together with Indians to work them that were given to Spanish colonizers) and their conversion to the Spanish faith, for the benefit of the Spanish crown and the church. Soon after the early conquest of the Inca Empire the Spanish Crown found it necessary to assess the value of its newly-discovered territories. In order to obtain this information they sent administrative staff empowered by the Crown on a series of visits throughout the newly conquered lands. Armed with a series of questions they travelled extensively from town to town in order to determine as

accurately as possible the number of people that inhabited these lands, the size of the *encomiendas* awarded to the Spanish conquistadors and the nature of the land they governed. The first of these was carried out by order of Francisco Pizarro to Captain Pedro de Puelles in 1537.²⁰⁴ Further orders were given to the Licentiate Vaca de Castro in 1542 and to Viceroy Blasco Núñez de Vela in 1542. However, the political situation and the civil wars between the conquistadors made all but a few partial ones impossible to accomplish.

Sólo se efectuaron algunas visitas parciales y de ellas conocemos la muy escueta visita de Cristóbal de Barreta a Cajamarca (Espinoza 1967) y la de Sebastián de la Gama a Jayanca en 1563.²⁰⁵

The civil wars over and Gonzalo Pizarro defeated and executed, de la Gasca decided to go ahead with the first of the general visits. The aim of these visits was to determine the number of inhabitants in the diverse *encomiendas* and *curacazgos* and the sources of each region, in order to tax adequately the Indians through their respective *curacas*, hence curtailing the abuses the *encomenderos* were inflicting upon the diverse Indian communities. In general the instructions given to undertake a *visita* were to assess anything to do with the indigenous populations, the towns and villages, the quality of the land,

²⁰⁴ *Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Fernando de Gamarra*, 15 March 1537. Fol. 23r-v Ramo I. No 1, Patronato. AGI.

²⁰⁵ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Ensayos de historia andina* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1993), p. 293.

the farm animals and the tribute they had to pay during the time of the Incas. These were in the form of questionnaires that had been carefully prepared by the Consejo Real and handed over to the respective viceroys to implement throughout the newly conquered lands.

The term *visita* has several meanings; it comprises several activities below a judicial level, which lead to an inquiry conducted for the purpose of finding out about several behavioural and administrative aspects of a social group. Colonial documents used it in several manners such as *visita general* and *visita eclesiástica*. María Rostworowski in 1966 coined the phrase *visita de Indios*, which she divided into three types: population types, land divisions and house-to-house inquiries. As early as the nineteenth century, the *visitas* had attracted the attention of many scholars such as Jiménez de la Espada who cited many within his text *Relaciones geográficas de las Indias*. However, it is not until the twentieth century that the *visitas* became an alternative way of approaching Inca history.²⁰⁶ Rostworowski, in particular, has made extensive use of this type of document to offer complementary and at times competing information about the structures which operated within Inca society. By studying the documentation produced by the *Visitas* to Lupacas and to Acari, for example, she has discovered evidence of dual rulership in Inca society, a practice which is not referenced to any great

²⁰⁶ Scholars such as Murra, Rostworowski, Espinoza and Pease, have transcribed, analysed and edited these documents, such as 'Visita de Diego Salazar a Cajamarca, año 1578', Justicia 1963, A.G.I., but historians such as Rowe did not do so.

extent in the chronicles.²⁰⁷ She has always found evidence in other similar documents of the existence of two lords in each of the moieties in the regions of the Inca kingdom.²⁰⁸ The 'visitas' and other related legal documents have proved to be a source of very valuable insights into the structures governing power distribution in Inca society.

Khipus and Pictograms

Bernabé Cobo, in his chronicle, provided a clear description of the social function of the *khipus* during the Inca reign:

Instead of writing they used some strands of cords or thin wool strings, like the ones we use to string rosaries; and these strings were called quipos. By these recording devices and registers they conserved the memory of their acts, and the Inca's overseers and accountants used them to remember what had been received and consumed. A bunch of these quipos served them as a ledger or notebook. The quipos consisted of diverse strings of different colours, and on each string there were several knots. These were figures and numbers that meant several things (...) On explaining their meaning, the Indians that knew how to read them related many things about ancient times that were contained in them. There were people designated for this

²⁰⁷ Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, pp. 144-45.

²⁰⁸ Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, p. 145.

job of accounting. These officials learned with great care this way of making records and preserving historical facts. However, not all the Indians were capable of understanding the quipos; only those dedicated to this job could do it; and those who did not study the quipos failed to understand them. Even among the quipo camayos themselves, one was unable to understand the registers and recording devices of others (...). There were different quipos for different kind of things, such as the paying of tributes, lands, ceremonies, and all kind of matters pertaining to peace and war.²⁰⁹

The early chroniclers were actively involved in working with the *kipumayocs* themselves in order to preserve Inca legend and history. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, for example, systematically interviewed hundreds of *kipu* masters in order to complete his task.²¹⁰ *Chasquis* (messengers) often carried *kipus* across the empire; they did not know how to interpret the *kipus*; on arrival at their destination they handed the *kipus* to the *kipu* masters who then read them and acted according to instructions. It is also claimed that when Hernando de Soto and Gonzalo Pizarro, conquistadors who had arrived with Francisco Pizarro, went to see the Inca in order to invite him into Cajamarca they said that whenever the Inca spoke the *kipucamayocs* would

²⁰⁹ Martti Pärssinen, p.31, p. 32.

²¹⁰ See Barrenchea, p. 5.

immediately start making knots and as soon as he finished they would stop.²¹¹

The chroniclers themselves offer important information about the *kipus*. In order to complete the task of writing the Inca history Sarmiento interviewed many *kipucamayocs*. Cabello de Balboa, Cieza de León, Pedro Pizarro, Garcilaso and many others mention the *kipus* and describe them in the following generic terms:

Piruleros antiguos comenzaron a usar de ciertos ñudos dado en ciertos hilos de colores varias, y segun era lo que pretendian, y querian entender de los tales ñudos, y hilos ansi era la color que añudauan á la grandeza y diferencia de el ñudo (o nudos) que hacian, y abia oficiales tan expertos en esta manera de conocer y añudar como ay entre nosotros escriuanos, y contadores liberales.²¹²

The general populace transmitted their versions of the Inca History by oral traditions and song. However, the Inca nobles recorded their history on the *kipus*. As Cieza de León wrote:

That each Inca chose three or four skilled and gifted old men to recall all that happened in the provinces during the time of their reign, and to make and arrange songs so that thereby it might be known in the future what had taken place in the past, but then he adds

²¹¹ Martti Pärssinen, p. 32.

²¹² Miguel Cabello de Balboa, p. 239.

that all this was put down on the *kipus*, too.²¹³

Much work has been carried out in attempting to solve the mystery of the *kipu* script; worthy of note are the works by Locke, Ascher & Ascher, Radicati Di Primeglio, and Gary Urton.²¹⁴ These four commentators agreed on one point: that the *kipus* were a mnemonic device that worked as an aid to assist the Incas to remember historical or other events. However, Urton argued more specifically that the *kipus* were more like a form of a narrative script and not a mnemonic personalised aid to memory. This interpretation has its merits in that it appears to be borne out by a passage written by Sarmiento de Gamboa in 1572:

Y demás desto había, y aun agora hay, particulares historiadores destas naciones, que era oficio que se heredaba de padre a hijo. Allegose a esto la grandísima diligencia del Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui, noveno inga, el cual hizo llamamiento general en todos los viejos historiadores de todas las provincias quel sujeto, y aun de otras muchas mas de todos estos reinos, y túvolos en la ciudad del

²¹³ Martti Pärssinen, p. 32.

²¹⁴ Locke, *The Ancient Quipu or Peruvian Knot Record*, *The American Museum of Natural History* (New York, 1923); Ascher & Ascher, 'Code of the Ancient Peruvian Knotted Cords (Quipus)', *Nature*, .222 (1969), 529-33; *Code of the Quipu Date book* (microfiches) (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1978); Radicati Di Primeglio, *El sistema contable de los Incas, Yupana y Quipu* (Lima: Librería Studium, 1980); and Gary Urton *The Social Life of Numbers*, and 'From Knots to Narratives'.

Cuzco mucho tiempo, examinándolos sobre las antigüedades, origen y cosas notables de sus pasados destos reinos. Y después que tuvo bien averiguado todo lo más notable de las antigüedades de sus historias, hizolo todo pintar por su orden en tablonos grandes,²¹⁵ y deuto en las Casas del Sol una gran sala adonde las tales tablas, que guarnecidas de oro estaban, estuviesen como en nuestras librerías, y constituyo doctores que supiesen entenderlas y declararlas. Y no podían entrar donde estas tablas estaban sino el inga o los historiadores, sin expresa licencia del inga.²¹⁶

The chroniclers record independently that the Incas used the *Khipus* to record historical events, laws, ceremonial rites and many other bureaucratic businesses. As early as 1542, for example, Vaca de Castro came across a historical narrative that became known as 'La Crónica de los KhipuCamayocs'.

Although no one has been able to solve definitively the mnemonic script of the *khipus*,²¹⁷ John Rowe and John Murra have analysed the way in which certain texts were written, suggesting that these objects were used to convey

²¹⁵ No specimens survive and some historians maintain that they could have been a colonial invention, though I do not agree that there is enough extrinsic evidence to support this supposition.

²¹⁶ Pärssinen, pp. 26-27; 'historiador' in this text is used in the sixteenth-century sense of compiler and interpreter of past deeds.

²¹⁷ The standard modern spelling of *khipu* will be used throughout this study.

information relating to a range of issues including historical information and knowledge about holy places. As one critic suggests:

In fact, eminent scholars such as John V Murra and John H Rowe have demonstrated that some *kipus* included stereotyped information about *corvée*, historical events, and holy places and so on.²¹⁸

In his article 'Probanzas de los Incas nietos de conquistadores,' about the text 'Memoria de las Provincias', which describes the conquests of Tupac Yupanqui, John Rowe states that the text's structure implies that it came from *kipu* texts. He also mentions that the text has many similarities with the chronicles by Cabello, Murúa and Sarmiento indicating that they might have had access independently to the same *kipu* sources. All of these create problems when analysing the vision of the process of change, especially the way in which events were registered, as each *ayllu* or *panaca* told a story of their own memories, as there was no unique way of memorising history. However, the narratives thereby constructed were not solely concerned with the 'mythical' origins of the Incas; in many of the documents written after the conquest there are many testimonies and declarations by Indians that must have seen or known about the events that occurred during the reign of the last Incas. Until such a time when the *kipus* can be deciphered, any hypothesis that they may contain, such as a chronological record of Inca rulers, remains conjectural. The

²¹⁸ Martti Pärssinen, p. 32.

quipus were, indeed, important to Rowe's argument as he believed that certain chroniclers had obtained their versions of Inca history from the *quipucamayocs*, but at the same time Rowe argued that there was another way of deriving the chronology of the Inca Empire:

There is another possible source for pre-Conquest dating, however, and that is the traditional genealogies preserved in certain Indian families. The Incas especially placed great emphasis on descent in their social organization and kept elaborate records of their ancestors for many generations. The genealogies are for the most part without dates, but by calculating an average length of reign for the rulers, we can get an approximate date for the beginning of the dynasty and for some important points in history. This method has been the basis for all previous systems of Andean chronology and still remains the only possible one.²¹⁹

The elaborate records Rowe mentioned are the *quipus*, and possibly the paintings, which were presumed lost through fire. The other alternative is to place greater emphasis on the sources represented by oral records, although these stories are often combine stories of mythical origin with historical narratives about contemporary or near-contemporary events (rather like the Greek historian Herotodus), and, thus, some of parts of the texts (i.e. the

²¹⁹ John H Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, p. 56.

stories of mythical origins) cannot be relied upon for the purposes of establishing chronology.

Related to the *quipus* were the pictograms which were produced in the Inca Empire. Though the Peruvian pictographic tradition is not as rich as the Mexican (namely the Aztec and the Maya pictograms), they did have an important role to play during the Inca Empire and during the early post-Conquest period. An anonymous Augustinian priest (c. 1560) wrote about wall paintings the shape of serpents which were common in the Inca Empire as follows:

‘Hallarase ha una cosa muy común en todos los edificios o en los mas del Inga y Rey de aquella tierra, y aun hasta hoy los pintan los indios, que son unas culebras muy grandes, y dicen quel Inga tenia dos culebras por armas, y así las he visto en muchos tambos, especialmente en el Cuzco y en Guamachuco.’²²⁰

In the Inca heartland, for example, pictograms may have served to convey information across language boundaries. An early source close to Inca royalty states that newly conquered provinces had to ‘send pictures of what they possessed and of what kind of usefulness their respective lands were’.²²¹ Cristóbal de Molina, ‘El Cuzqueño’, for example, stated that the Inca:

²²⁰ M. Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu The Inca State and Its Political Organization* (Helsinki, SHS: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1992), p. 26.

²²¹ Pärssinen, pp. 26-27.

had in a house of the Sun called Poquen Cancha, which is close to Cuzco, the life of each one of the Incas [sovereigns], and of the lands he had conquered, and what was the origin, painted as figures on certain panels [tablas]²²²

Cieza de León, Betanzos, and Sarmiento all agree that it was Pachacutec who ordered the history of the Incas to be written, using the *quipus* and pictorial wooden frames. These were to be kept in a building specially constructed during the renovation of the city of Cuzco.²²³ This presented a great problem to future historians, as Pachacutec and his successors had enormous influence over what information should be kept in these records.²²⁴ To complicate matters further, the royal *panacas*, who were the descendants of previous Incas and in charge of conserving both their memories and mummies, often exaggerated or even credited historical conquests and other important events done by others to their own ancestors. This fact subsequently created confusion as to which *panaca* was actually giving the true account of its ancestor's achievements.

During Toledo's viceroyalty these boards were sent to Spain. However, since then they have disappeared and are feared burnt. María Rostworowski, in her book *Estructuras*

²²² Molina, quoted in Frank Salomon, *Cambridge History of Native South Americans; Testimonies: The Makings and Reading of Native South American Historical Sources* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), pp. 20-21.

²²³ For the reference see Rowe in *Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest*, and Bonavia in *Mural Painting in Ancient Peru*.

²²⁴ Pärssinen, p. 27.

andinas del poder, claims that according to Marco Dorta, these boards were perhaps lost during the fire of the old Alcázar in 1734:

Sobre las vicisitudes de los lienzos enviados a España existe un documento que los menciona como existentes en 1586 en el Palacio Real de Madrid. Se trata de un testimonio hecho por un nieto del conquistador Hernando de Soto y de la ñusta doña Leonor, hija de Huayna Capac, llamado Pedro Carrillo de Soto. Este personaje tuvo necesidad de hacer una probanza y la hizo teniendo como base dichos lienzos y para ello obtuvo la autorización de presentarlos al Real Consejo, tapices que entonces estaban en poder del guardajoyas del alcázar.----. Este documento fue señalado por nosotros a Marco Dorta, catedrático de Historia del Arte Hispanoamericano en Madrid, quien revisó los catálogos de los fondos depositados en los palacios reales. En la testamentaría de Felipe II se tasaron dos lotes, uno de cuatro y otro de diecisiete lienzos y quizá entre ellos se hallaban los vistos usados por Pedro Carrillo de Soto para su expediente. Marco Dorta consideró sin embargo perdidos hoy día estos tapices y es posible que se quemaran durante

el incendio que en 1734 destruyó parte del antiguo Alcázar.²²⁵

The messages painted on these boards were not interpreted or described by early chroniclers, hence, today we do not know about their contents. The paintings drawn by Guaman Poma de Ayala could have been painted in the style as the original paintings done by the Incas, but there is no way of proving this, as Guaman Poma could have learned his skills from the Spanish and we do not have the original Inca paintings to compare them with.

Rather curiously the Spanish Conquest had the unanticipated result of drawing attention to the cultural significance of the *quipus*, even though their precise meaning eluded transliteration. The chroniclers and the lawyers, the local governors and the colonial decision-makers pressurised the Inca account-keepers, the *quipumayocs*, to produce information about past events, especially if there was some dispute about what had occurred. During the Inca times the several *quipu* masters made many visits and kept records of the number of able working people in the different ethnicities throughout the Inca Empire. These records, as we have pointed out, were kept by the *quipu* masters in the *quipus*, which they would read to whoever they had to give an account to. We are told by several of the above mentioned chroniclers that, during the reigns of Pachacutec, Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac these records were kept so that in Cuzco they would know who was able to contribute towards the *mitas*, what

²²⁵ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Estructuras Andinas del Poder* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1986), pp. 100-101.

was their produce, description of the lands and its fauna, agricultural lands and many other things that contribute to the accuracy and well-being of the empire. However, when the Spanish conquered the Inca Empire they effectively became the administrators and hence, in order to organise and control its population and tax them appropriately, they had to organise a system by which they could accurately control and tax the many peoples that lived in this vast area. Hence when any subversion by the Incas ceased and especially after the Spanish civil wars ended with the death of Gonzalo Pizarro, the *visitas* started to be implemented. The purpose of these *visitas* was to find out their productive capacity, their mining capacity, agriculture, and manufacturing, labour contribution by the different *ayllus*, other forms of contributions made to the Incas by the different ethnic groups throughout the Inca Kingdom as well as finding out about certain habits and customs that these peoples maintained during the Inca times. Both John Murra and María Rostworowski are pioneers who have contributed extensive scholarly advances about the Incas and the ethnic groups they conquered when analysing these documents. They have given us a greater understanding of the way the Incas handled their economy and many other aspects of Inca behaviour towards the ethnic groups they conquered.

Some of the chroniclers claimed to have derived information directly from the *kipumayocs*, and this, in itself, has proved to be problematic in the sense that the claim cannot be independently assessed. The chronicle composed by Father Martín de Morúa entitled *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes Incas del Perú* is a case in point. Written, according to Porras Barrenechea,

between 1590-1600²²⁶ – Rowe claims that Book II was composed between 1592 and 1598 and Book IV between 1600 and 1609²²⁷ – Murúa's chronicle was based, according to its author, on information which came directly from the *khipus*. Carlos Aranibar and Pierre Duviols, however, have questioned this statement in that they argue that the majority of the work was simply copied from Polo de Ondegardo's *Los errores y supersticiones de los indios* (1559) and *Instrucción contra las ceremonias y ritos* (1567).²²⁸ It is highly likely that Murúa also derived large chunks of his text from Román y Zamora, (who had in turn copied from Las Casas's text). Pärssinen appears to corroborate this idea in his assertion that Murúa also copied Diego Fernández el Palentino's *segunda parte de la historia del Perú* (1571).²²⁹ It is important, as we can see, to ascertain whether an author's statements hold water. In Murúa's case this was found not to be so.

The claims made by Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara in his *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú* are also suspect when submitted to close scrutiny. While Porras Barrenechea as long ago as 1946 argued that *Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú* was self-evidently an autobiographical account based on what Gutiérrez de Santa Clara experienced personally, other critics such as Marcel

²²⁶ Raúl Porras Barrenechea, p. 379.

²²⁷ Martti Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu, The Inca State and Its Political Organization* (Helsinki: SHS, 1992), p. 54.

²²⁸ Carlos Aranibar, 'Algunos problemas heurísticos en las crónicas de los siglos XVI – XVII', *Nueva Corónica*, 1 (1963), 106.

²²⁹ Pärssinen, p. 54.

Bataillon have suggested that Gutiérrez de Santa Clara had never been in Peru and that he simply copied from several other chroniclers such as Diego Fernández, López de Gomara, Zárate, Cieza de León and Fernández de Oviedo.²³⁰ It is clear that caution is necessary in ascertaining the provenance of the chroniclers' ideas. Some writers sought to obtain political advantage over their rivals – in order, for example, to curry favour with the Viceroy and the King for personal benefit – by claiming that the information in their text derived from *quipumayocs* – it was a powerful strategy since it was an argument that was difficult to disprove. There is, of course, always the possibility that the *khuipumayoc* clause was a catch-all device which hid a multitude of sins.

Other types of texts have also become available which provide a different perspective to pre-Conquest life in the Americas to that enunciated in the canonic chronicles. Laura Laurencich Minelli, for example, has discussed the significance of two recently discovered texts which have not been published.²³¹ They relate to the case of Father Blas Valera who, according to Minelli, wrote *Excelsus Emmiretus* in 1618. At the time, Father Blas Valera was imprisoned and exiled to Spain, not for womanising, as the charge stated, but for a more serious offence, that of instigating a rebellion among the Indians against the crown. She argues that Blas Valera was forbidden to write or

²³⁰ Pärssinen, p. 54.

²³¹ 'Un aporte de 'Excelsus Immeretus Blas Valera Populo Suo', paper given at the conference, *Historia et Rudimenta Linguae Piruanorum a la historia Peruana: la figura del cronista Blas Valera*, held in Rome, 30-31 September 1999.

publish, hence, he handed his works to Inca Garcilaso de la Vega so that he may publish them in his *Comentarios Reales* with only the conditions that he respected the contents and its authorship. However, it now appears clear that Inca Garcilaso simply added this narrative to his own text, but without quoting its source, and thereby in effect claiming Blas Valera's work as his own. This appears to be corroborated by Franklin Pease who has found evidence relating to that matter and hence, in his chapter 'Crónica de la elaboración de una historia' in *Las Crónicas y los Andes*, states the followings:

En aquel tiempo se escribieron las obras de Blas Valera, mestizo y jesuita, que fueron a parar, fragmentadamente, a las manos del Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, quien las empleó profusamente citándolas siempre en los Comentarios reales de los Incas. Los escritos de Valera se disgregaron como consecuencia del saqueo de Cádiz por los ingleses (1596); el jesuita Pedro Maldonado de Torres, amigo de Valera y del Inca, los entregó a este.²³²

However, the documents suggest that Blas Valera was declared legally dead in 1597 by the Jesuit Order and clandestinely returned to Perú where he worked until 1618. He returned to Spain where he died in 1619.²³³

²³² Franklin Pease G.Y., *Las Crónicas y los Andes* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. 1995), p. 39.

²³³ 'Un aporte de 'Excelsus Immeretus Blas Valera Populo Suo', paper given at the conference, *Historia et Rudimenta Linguae Piruanorum* a la

The documents suggest that, during his stay in Peru, Valera wrote *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* using Guaman Poma de Ayala's name, the handwriting of H. Gonzalo Ruiz and the help of Anello Oliva. Franklin Pease in the chapter *Crónica de la elaboración de una historia in Las Crónicas y los Andes* mentions Anello in context with Blas Valera:

Se atribuyó durante mucho tiempo a Valera la paternidad de un texto anónimo, escrito hacia 1594 por un jesuita interesado también específicamente en asuntos relacionados con la religión andina [67]. También se afirmó que Valera había escrito un *Vocabulario bilingüe* que, sobreviviente en archivos jesuitas, fue empleado por cronistas posteriores, como Giovanni Anello Oliva.²³⁴

The first document, *Historia et Rudimenta Linguae Piruanorum*, was written by two Jesuits, Antonio Kumis and Anello Oliva in Peru at the beginning of the sixteenth century. However, whilst in Chile, Father Pedro Maldonado Illness wrote one page and gave it its present title. He then took it to Italy where he sold it to Raimondo de Sangro who used it in his *Lettera Apologética* (1750). This group of Jesuits wrote it to leave a legacy of the problems the Company of Jesus had suffered during the times of father Illanes in South America. Father Blas Valera supposedly wrote the *Immeretus* document in Spain in 1618. This was,

historia Peruana: la figura del cronista Blas Valera', held in Rome, 30-31 September 1999.

²³⁴ Laura Laurencich, e-mail/personal communication, March 2000.

however, 20 years before Oliva wrote the second and third part of the *Historia*.

Valera's document is written in Latin and uses Quechua terminology, having recourse to what he termed as *quipu regal silabico o capacquipu*; very much in the manner of Guaman Poma Valera illustrates his document with six figures. The document is written in four books, the first one describing his life, which is followed by Andean cosmology and the destruction of Andean culture by the fraudulent conquest of Francisco Pizarro over Atahualpa and the destruction of Peru by the Spanish. Finally, Valera writes about his struggle to maintain the Indian culture which he believes could only re-emerge once transubstantiated through Christ. As with the Indian culture he extensively uses different colours to write his manuscript by emulating the different colour cords used in the *kipus*.²³⁵ In an unpublished document called 'Excellus Immeritus Blas Valera Populo Suo',²³⁶ the book is said to have been written by one P. Blas Valera, he not only uses different colours in his writings but also attaches to the document.

El documento está escrito por Blas Valera en
1618, es complementario de el ya conocido
HR....

²³⁵ Some scholars, however, have raised the possibility that the text supposedly authored by Blas Valera is fraudulent; this is the opinion of Francisco Hernandez and Juan Ossio, both of Pontifica Universidad Católica del Perú.

²³⁶ Laura Larecich Minelli, 'Un aporte de 'Excelsus Immeretus Blas Valera Populo Suo', paper given at the conference, *Historia et Rudimenta Linguae Piruanorum a la historia Peruana: la figura del cronista Blas Valera*, held in Rome, 30-31 September 1999.

kipus

Una caja en grueso papel, forrado externamente por un tejido en lana estilo Inca periférico, contiene un quipu numérico en lana, una foja escrita y pintada y, además, el cuaderno que, con sus aligados constituye el núcleo del documento EI....

La misma mano, es decir la suya, redacta todo el texto y lo pinta ocupando 19 y 1/2 *cartae*. Lo escribe en su mayoría en latín, el idioma culto de la época, pero también en quechua (eso más bien utilizando el quipu literario, que él llama regal silábico o *capacquipu*) y lo ilustra con seis grandes pictografías...

Como tinta el P. Blas Valera utiliza el negro de humo y el rojo cinabro: creo con el intento no sólo de evidenciar más unas partes sino también para atar lo que escribe en su tierra mediante materiales que los antiguos peruanos utilizaban en sus pinturas. Además, desde el análisis de las tintas y el texto, resulta que él habría escrito en rojo cinabro las etapas de su vida que más conciernen a su lucha por los indios.

It is, clearly, crucial to establish the authenticity of texts such as Blas Valera's since this has important implications for the interpretation of a whole range of colonial texts. There is, for example, a stark difference of perspective, for example, between the chronicles of Juan de

Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, Tito Cusi Yupanqui and Guaman Poma de Ayala as opposed to Spanish chronicles authored by, for instance, Sarmiento de Gamboa and Polo de Ondegardo during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

From Archaeology to Anthropology

The father of scientific archaeology in the Andes was, according to John Rowe, the German archaeologist and scholar, Max Uhle, and his most famous work, *Pachamac: Report of the William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., Peruvian Expedition of 1896* (1903), which revolutionised the understanding of Andean archaeology at the beginning of the twentieth century.²³⁷ Uhle's study of the Pachamac Temple, which described the general topography of the city around it, surveyed the graves contained therein, analysed the different styles of the pottery found among the ruins, and traced a history of the conquest of the sanctuary by the Incas. It is not irrelevant that, in drawing up his chronology of the Pachamac temple, Uhle should have used Garcilaso de la Vega's dating of the Incas, which he noted as follows:

7. Wiraqocha (1289-1340)
6. Pachakutij (1340-1400)
5. Yupanqui (1400-1439)
4. Tupaj (1439-1475)
3. Waina Qhapaj (1475-1526)

²³⁷ Max Uhle, *Pachamac: Report of the William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., Peruvian Expedition of 1896* (Philadelphia, PA: Department of Archaeology of the University of Pennsylvania, 1903). The reference to John Rowe's view is found in the essay, 'Pachacamac Archaeology: Retrospect and Prospect', pp. xvi-lvii (p. xvi).

2. Waskar (1526-1531)

1. Atawallpa (1531-1532)²³⁸

While Uhle does draw attention to some of the discrepancies over chronology – namely he draws attention to the points at which Garcilaso de la Vega's genealogy differs from that of other chroniclers such as Balboa – it is important to underline that the baseline of his chronological cartography is Garcilaso de la Vega. Thus Uhle uses Garcilaso de la Vega in order to date the conquest of the valley as well as the construction of the temple:

The conquest of the valley would therefore fall between the years 1340 and 1400, according to Garcilaso, or, since it was one of the later achievements of the Inca (Pachakutij), probably not earlier than 1360, about one hundred and seventy years before the Spanish invasion. According to Balboa, Santacruz and Montesinos, the event took place between the years 1400 and 1440, ninety to one hundred and thirty years prior to the arrival of the Spaniards, and according to Cieza and Santillan it was even as late as 1440 to 1450, about eighty years before the Spanish conquest. Whatever date between the years 1360 and 1450 may finally be accepted for the conquest of the valley, the fact remains that the Inca period of the valley and

²³⁸ Max Uhle, *Pachamac: Report of the William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., Peruvian Expedition of 1896*, p. 54.

the sanctuary, in proportion to the age of the latter, must be considered a very short one, while the transformations which the city underwent in its appearance were relatively considerable.²³⁹

While he did not adopt uncritically Max Uhle's use of Garcilaso de la Vega's chronology, Rowe – who clearly felt a great deal of admiration for Uhle's work – did adopt Uhle's method of using the succession of styles in the Inca architecture and pottery as a means of building up a sense of the chronology of the growth of the Inca Empire, while cross-referencing and cross-checking with the chronologies found in the contemporary chronicles. In many ways, the work that Rowe carried out in the Andes in the 1930s and 1940s followed very much in Uhle's footsteps. In his influential article, 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area' – already referred to in chapter 1 – we find Rowe adopting a similar method when he discusses the chronology of the pottery style at the 'chulpas' at Sillustani:

The later styles can be almost certainly identified as belonging to the various small states which the Incas found in the region, particularly those of the Luparcas (capital, Chucuito) and of the Collas (capital, Hatun Colla) on the west coast of Lake Titicaca which Cieza describes. Other local styles at places like Taraco and around Azangaro are of the same date and probably represent other

²³⁹ Max Uhle, *Pachamac: Report of the William Pepper, M.D., LL.D., Peruvian Expedition of 1896*, p. 554.

cultural centers not so well described in the documents. If we estimate the Inca conquest of Chucuito at 1445, from Cabello's dates, we should allow for a few years of previous Inca influence and probably a centre or two more for the flourishing of the local styles before we reach Decadent Tiahuanaco, which has not been found associated with the local pottery (Chucuito Polychrome) at Chucuito.²⁴⁰

Taking their lead from the pioneering work of Max Uhle and John Rowe, a number of archaeologists such as D'Altroy,²⁴¹ Kendall,²⁴² Bauer,²⁴³ Dillehay,²⁴⁴ Morris,²⁴⁵ Hyslop,²⁴⁶ Moseley,²⁴⁷ Niles,²⁴⁸ Julien,²⁴⁹ Stanish,²⁵⁰ Rivera

²⁴⁰ Rowe, 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Area', p. 278.

²⁴¹ Terence N. D'Altroy, 'Transitions in Power: Centralization of Wanka Political Organization under Inka Rule', *Ethnohistory*, 34 (1987), 78-102.

²⁴² Ann Kendall, 'Descripción e inventario de las formas arquitectónicas inca. Patrones de distribución e inferencias cronológicas', *Revista del Museo Nacional*, 42 (1976), 13-96.

²⁴³ Brian S. Bauer, *Avances en arqueología andina*, trans. Javier Flores Espinoza (Cuzco: Archivos de Historia Andina, Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos, "Bartolomé de Las Casas" 1992), vol. 16.

²⁴⁴ Tom D. Dillehay, 'Tawantinsuyu Integration of the Chillón Valley, Peru: A case of Inca Geo-Political Mastery', *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 4.4 (1975), 397-405.

²⁴⁵ Craig Morris, 'From Principles of Ecological Complementarity to the Organization and Administration of Tawantinsuyu', in *Andean Ecology and Civilization. An Interdisciplinary Perspective on Andean Ecological Complementarity* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1985).

²⁴⁶ John Hyslop, *Inkawasi: The New Cuzco, Cañete, Lunahuaná, Peru* (Oxford, England: BAR International Series, 1985).

²⁵¹ and Schaedel ²⁵² have addressed in different ways the dating of the various styles associated with Inca architecture, pottery and other cultural artefacts.

The major advances in archaeology have been counterbalanced by the growth of new hermeneutic paradigms within the discourse of anthropology which had been developing since the middle of the twentieth century. Thus cultural anthropologists such as Tom Zuidema,²⁵³ Juan Ossio,²⁵⁴ and Pierre Duviols,²⁵⁵ have developed alternative ways of interpreting Inca history through their research of the *ayllus* that exist today in the central Andes. Contrary to

²⁴⁷ Michael E. Moseley, *The Incas and their Ancestors. The Archaeology of Peru* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1992).

²⁴⁸ Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999).

²⁴⁹ Catherine Julien, *Reading Inca History*.

²⁵⁰ Charles Stanish, 'Nonmarket Imperialism in the Prehispanic Americas: The Inka Occupation of the Titicaca Basin', *Latin American Antiquity*, 8 (1997), 195-216.

²⁵¹ Miguel Rivera, 'La cerámica inca de Chinchero', *Arqueología de Chinchero*, 3 (1976), 27-90.

²⁵² Richard P. Schaedel, 'Early State of the Incas', in *The Early State*, eds Henri M Claessen and Peter Skalnik (The Hague: Mouton, 1978), pp. 289-320.

²⁵³ Tom R. Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco. The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca* (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1964).

²⁵⁴ Juan M. Ossio, 'Guamán Poma: Nueva crónica y carta al rey: un intento de aproximación a las categorías del mundo andino', in *Ideología mesiánica del mundo andino*, ed. Juan M. Ossio (Lima: Biblioteca de Antropología 'Ignacio Prado', 1973).

²⁵⁵ Pierre Duviols, *Les sources religieuses du chroniqueur péruvien fray Martín de Morúa* (Aix en Provence: Etudes Latino-américaines, 1962).

the established school of thought which suggested that the Incas had followed a linear descent from Manco Capac to Atahualpa in two distinct dynasties, Hurin Cuzco and Hanan Cuzco, Zuidema, Parssinen, Ossio and Duviols, suggest that there probably existed diarchic, triarchic and quadripartition systems²⁵⁶ in which both Hurin Cuzco and Hanan Cuzco existed simultaneously. Of all the cultural anthropologists of his generation Zuidema's work has been the most pioneering in that he discovered that Inca society was much more complicated than the European perspective of that society would suggest. He discovered that Cuzco society was based on 'combinations of three basic principles of organisation which might be described as the division into three, or tripartition, into four, or quadripartition, and into five, or quintupartition'.²⁵⁷ The first principle of organisation was based into a division of society into three groups, Collana, Payan and Cayao. While all Collana people were the primary kin, 'the rest of humanity, not related to Collan, and from which Collana men could choose their subsidiary wives, was called Cayao. (...) The offspring of the subsidiary unions of Collana men with non-Collana women, were called Payan'.²⁵⁸ His work was found to be particularly helpful when it came to the study of the matrilineal links within society which existed simultaneously alongside the

²⁵⁶ Tom R. Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco. The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca*, p. 42.

²⁵⁷ Tom R. Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco. The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca*, p. 40.

²⁵⁸ Tom R. Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco. The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca*, pp. 40-41.

patrilinear links. Other anthropologists, such as Imbellioni²⁵⁹ and Ibarra Grasso,²⁶⁰ have argued that the whole list of Incas in the Hurin Cuzco was created by Pachacutec and that only the Incas in the Hanan Cuzco existed.²⁶¹ Credence to theories such as these which radically change the way in which Inca society is to be understood have gained ground increasingly in recent decades.

Inevitably, archaeology and ethno-history, specifically, the analysis of Inca chronicles, backed by archaeological evidence, constitute an essential part of any study of Inca culture. It is fair to say, however, that archaeological evidence in the context of Inca studies has come to exist within a state of dialectical antagonism with its attendant disciplines, as is the case with the anthropologists and ethno-historians. We have already noted how developments in ethno-history throughout the post-war period have provided new insights into the field of Inca studies. Historians have managed to establish a widely accepted and recognised framework for Inca chronology through the works of ethno-historians and anthropologists such as Rowe and Zuidema. However, these advances have not been without controversy. The increased reputation and recognition of the achievements of ethno-historical Inca

²⁵⁹ José Imbellioni, *Pachacutec IX* (Buenos Aires: El Inkario Crítico, 1946).

²⁶⁰ Dick Ibarra Grasso and Roy Querejazu Lewis, *30,000 años de prehistoria en Bolivia* (Cochabamba, La Paz: Editorial Los Amigos del Libro, 1986).

²⁶¹ For further discussion of this point see Martti Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu: The Inca State and its Political Organization* (Helsinki: Societas Historica Finlandiae, 1992).

research has also created a number of significant problems, which, as we have seen, for the most part remain unsolved. A central aspect of these problems is the increased reliance upon ethno-historical research at the expense of a genuine engagement with emerging archaeological evidence. For many the crucial component of the equation is provided by archaeological evidence. As Zuidema pithily puts it:

‘It will be through the pursuit of archaeological evidence that the most important truths of Inca culture will be revealed.’²⁶²

Given the present dominance of ethno-historical practice and ethno-historical models, a re-engagement with archaeological evidence is no easy task. The assumptions and theoretical models offered by contemporary ethno-historical Inca thinking are understandably sensitive (if not hostile) to any inter-disciplinary encroachment. However, it is my belief that a synthesis and re-establishment of a truly interdisciplinary methodology will provide Inca studies with the most successful means of arriving at the answers to the questions which all the disciplines independently pursue.

The early archaeologists such as Max Ulhe in the early twentieth century, John Rowe in the 1940-60s and Dorothy Menzel in the 1950-70s were very much – as suggested above – at the forefront of such interpretative study of pottery styles. This means of archaeological analysis is the evidence upon which Rowe’s widely accepted

²⁶² This is the main thesis pursued by Tom Zuidema in works such as *The Ceque System of Cuzco. The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca*.

tables were based. It is from such analysis that much subsequent ethno-historical Inca research has sprung, relying upon the conclusions drawn from the pottery-dating method to derive historical understanding of the Inca expansion and consolidation. Recent research, however, undertaken by contemporary archaeologists has cast doubt upon the credibility of some of the earlier findings by presenting us with a new process. This recent archaeological activity utilises evidence arising from a more detailed analysis of early Inca ceramics (*Killke*) and from the significance of the detailed changes apparent in the designs. The more recent findings of Ann Kendall,²⁶³ for example, suggest that late *Killke* pottery was developed around 1000-1100 AD, which conflicts with the chronological map drawn up by scholars such as Uhle, Rowe and Menzel. In placing the centre of gravity of the Inca expansion two or three hundred years previous to its established position, these findings seem to demand a dramatic re-assessment of established chronologies of Inca studies. Research carried out by Brian Bauer on the Inca state appears to support these conclusions.²⁶⁴ He argues, for example, that *Killke* pottery is intrinsic to Inca culture and that it was developed around 1000 AD. As Kendall notes:

The formulation and development of the Inca State as presented by modern historians is challenged by Bauer based on the premise

²⁶³ Ann Kendall, 'An Archaeological Perspective for Late Intermediate Period Inca Development in the Cuzco Region', *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society*, 24.1-2 (1996), 121-56.

²⁶⁴ Brian Bauer, *The Development of the Inca State* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).

that literal interpretation of the sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers is frequently contradicted by archaeological evidence.²⁶⁵

In his research Bauer uses data culled largely from pottery finds in the Province of Paruro, the area just south of the Inca capital of Cuzco and augments it with ethnographic information drawn chiefly from the studies by Gary Urton, who wrote the introduction to Bauer's book. The evidence gathered at Paruro is used to indicate that the 'event-based' approach, which accepts the tradition of sudden dominance by the Incas following the defeat of the Chanca under the heroic leadership of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui must be replaced by a new model supposing gradual consolidation of control. Bauer suggests that although his report covers the results of a limited survey, nevertheless, it may be more widely representative. He cautiously advises, however, that much more archaeological work must be done before definitive alternatives to the old model can be selected.

Bauer argues that it is critical to construct a chronology for Inca state-development independent of the information provided by the Spanish chroniclers, since they present 'mythical representations of the past that cannot be read literally'.²⁶⁶ In fact, his determination that the early Inca (Killke) period began about two centuries before the traditional date undermines the previous historiographical efforts based on the chroniclers' information. The old model maintains that Cuzco was founded around A.D. 1200 (a date

²⁶⁵ Ann Kendall, 'An Archaeological Perspective for Late Intermediate Period Inca Development in the Cuzco Region', *passim*.

²⁶⁶ Brian Bauer, *The Development of the Inca State*, p. 3.

derived from the estimated reigns of the eight presumptive Inca rulers preceding Viracocha Inca), and that the wide region surrounding it was in a state of near-constant warfare between various settlements and ethnic groups. When Viracocha Inca was an old man, the Chanca invaded Cuzco, frightening the king into permanent exile. Control fell to his son, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, who repelled the invasion and subsequently crushed the Chanca in further battles. At that historical pivot, Cuzco turned outward and quickly dominated the surrounding region and beyond, relocating ethnic groups and suddenly transforming social and economic order in the Andes. According to Bauer, this scenario directly descended from the sixteenth-century chronicles and 'continues to be widely accepted today' (p. 4). He cites Rowe, writing in 1944, and Susan A. Niles, writing in 1987, as examples of this. Bauer's call to question literal interpretation is not an innovation by him but had precursors in ethnographical work by Urton, Tom Zuidema, Pierre Duviols, and Ake Wedin beginning in the 1960s. Bauer's noteworthy contribution is his insistence on far greater emphasis on archaeological work, which even now remains relatively slight, the Incas having been a civilization that left no written records of its own.²⁶⁷

The preponderance of data compiled by Bauer was generated by finds of pottery fragments during his survey of the Province of Paruro, supplemented by limited excavation

²⁶⁷ Edward Gerecs, *Atlantic Millennium* (Florida: International, Department of History Graduate Student Association, 1997); Brian S. Bauer, *The Development of the Inca State* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), p. xvi, p. 185.

and compared with recent ethnographical and historical studies in the same area. Six styles of pottery were found, and the most relevant to the study are Inca, Killke, and Cocha. Inca and Killke each gives its name to a major historical period in Inca chronology, Killke at about A.D. 1000, and by examining distribution patterns, Bauer believes that the two earlier styles were produced at separate manufacturing centers: Killke at Cuzco and Colcha at Araypallpa. The greater distribution of Killke fragments leads Bauer to suggest that a widespread exchange of goods, rather than chronic warfare, existed in the region. Further, he speculates that a consistent pottery design, depicting a 'symbolic representation of an institutional ruler or elite class' (p. 92), may indicate that Cuzco had emerged as politically dominant even during the Killke period. In this instance, as he does throughout the book, Bauer cautions that much more research needs to be done. Likewise, his evidence is better for establishing general directions for future work than making definite claims.²⁶⁸

The best test-case for our purposes is the *Killke* period. The term *Killke* was first applied by Rowe in 1944 to describe a pottery style in the Cuzco region, which he estimated as dating back to c. AD 1200. He suggested that it represented the 'Early Inca' period. However, the term *Killke* is sometimes used indiscriminately to describe architectural remains and other artefacts, even a culture. It

²⁶⁸ Edward Gerecs, *Atlantic Millennium* (Florida: International, Department of History Graduate Student Association, 1997); Brian S. Bauer, *The Development of the Inca State* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), p. xvi, p.185.

has, as Dwyer suggested in 1971, been used to represent a culture. However, there is no *Killke* culture as such mentioned anywhere in the chronicles or by any of the ethnohistorians.²⁶⁹ *Killke* styles of pottery were developed during the Late Intermediate period and are found everywhere in the department of Cuzco, followed by the Lucre-Inca and classic Cuzco-Inca ceramics periods. Kendall and Lunt maintain, however, that early *Killke* was pre-Inca and Inca pottery developed in parallel to *Killke*.²⁷⁰ Complications arise when trying to relate *Killke* pottery to well-preserved architectural remains, as well-stratified undisturbed deposits are unlikely to be found in sites in the Cuzco region. Both Rowe and Bauer suggest that *Killke* was early Inca pottery.²⁷¹ If this were the case, it may suggest that the Incas were around the region in about 900 AD or The Late Intermediate Period since, as Morris argues, 'For a settlement to attain the size of well over a thousand structures in such a short period of time is unusual for the ancient world; for a whole series of them to be founded and grow at once over a wider area is even more unusual.'²⁷²

²⁶⁹ Ann Kendall, 'An Archaeological Perspective for Late Intermediate Period Inca Development in the Cuzco Region', *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society*, 24.1-2 (1996), 121-56 (p. 121).

²⁷⁰ Ann Kendall, 'An Archaeological Perspective for Late Intermediate Period Inca Development in the Cuzco Region', p. 121.

²⁷¹ In conversation with Brian Bauer in Cuzco in July 2001.

²⁷² C. Morris, 'State Settlements in Tawantinsuyu: A Strategy of Compulsory Urbanism', in M.P. Leone (ed.), *Contemporary Archaeology: A Guide to Theory & Contribution*, ed. M.P. Leone (Carbondale Illinois: Illinois University Press, 1972), p.131.

As Morris argues elsewhere, 'for a settlement to attain the size of over a thousand structures in a short period in ancient times is difficult, but for many of them to have been erected in such a short period would have been impossible'.²⁷³ Pointing in a similar direction John Murra has noted that rapid expansions, rebellions and reconquests might have been phases of the same process.²⁷⁴ The possibility of a process of gradual growth of the empire, based on a series of military successes hindered occasionally by military reverse, is also mentioned by Sarmiento de Gamboa.²⁷⁵ Åke Wedin, for his part, whose work has been discussed in chapter 1, found that from the 1540s onwards most of the informants of Inca history were not *kipu* masters but normal Indians who did not know how to read or write the *kipus* and therefore relied completely on memory.²⁷⁶ As mentioned earlier, memory has a limit of about three generations, further than that, the stories become muddled and therefore unreliable. Obviously, the *kipus* show much greater intransience than personal memories. As Wedin explains in his book *El concepto de lo incaico y las fuentes* (1966), this might prove the unreliability of oral information on the Inca Empire to the 1560s. In the light of this fact it is all the more

²⁷³ C. Morris, 'State Settlements in Tawantinsuyu: A Strategy of Compulsory Urbanism', in *Contemporary Archaeology: A Guide to Theory and Contributions*, ed. M.P. Leone (Carbondale, Illinois: Illinois University Press, 1972), p.132.

²⁷⁴ *The Expansion of the Incas States: Armies, War and Rebellions*, eds John V. Murra, Nathan Watchel and Jacques Revel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 52.

²⁷⁵ Sarmiento de Gamboa, *Historia de los Incas*, Chapter X.

²⁷⁶ Wedin Åke, *La cronología de la Historia Incaica*, p. 41.

important to test the archaeological evidence and assess its value as objectively as possible.

In the next section of this chapter I will be raising the hypothesis that, contrary to the Toledan School's theories, the idea that the expansion of the Inca Empire was a rapid event that started with the ninth Inca, Pachacutec, is incorrect. I shall be attempting to use archaeological evidence to question the rapid expansion theory and raise the hypothesis that the expansion was gradual and started some centuries before 1438 A.D. An important body of evidence about the growth of the Inca Empire has been provided by Ann Kendall's work. Kendall has been excavating in the Cuzco region since 1968, with areas of specific investigation at Cusichaca, located 88km NW of Cuzco; Pumamarca; the Patacancha Valley; Juchuy Coscco and at Warq'ana. Much of her work would seem to cast doubt upon the established chronological framework of ethno-historians such as Rowe who was, as we have noted, also an archaeologist.

In order to test the objectivity of the archaeological evidence, I have relied on the work of a scientific paper, 'Towards a Radiocarbon Chronology of the Inca State', authored by Anna Adamska and Adam Michecynski, which provides an objective analysis of the data provided by a number of archaeological sites in the Andes. They have, as it were, no axe to grind since they simply tabulate and then briefly analyse the data provided by others. Their work considers the 'problem' of the application of a C-14 radiocarbon method to establish the Inca state chronology, and more specifically an attempt to '[a]ssign the length of the Inca Pre-imperial and Imperial Phase, as well as the

length of periods of succeeding Inca rulers' reigns, by using calibrated radiocarbon dates. The shape of a calibration curve concerning XIII-XVI century is satisfactory to make considerations (sic) on the Inca State chronology'.²⁷⁷ Adamska and Michczynski begin their analysis by providing the 'canonic' version of the chronology of the growth of the Inca Empire:

The equivocality of historical sources resulted in the rise of two general chronological conceptions, so called schools. The first one, called historical, treats the information contained in the chroniclers, particularly in the Miguel Cabello de Valboa (Balboa), as a record of Inca history. Assuming that it is complete, the list of Kings cited in them is so consistent that it can be considered to be a good approximation of the Inca past. The scholars belonging to this school agree that Inca history divides into two phases: pre-imperial (local) and imperial. From it, they derive two chronological models. The first one (elaborated by John H

²⁷⁷ Adamska, A. & Michczynski, A., 'Towards a Radiocarbon Chronology of the Inca State', http://www.carbon14.pl/~adam/Nauka/Papers/Inca_State_chronology.pdf (last accessed 15 June 2012). See also A. Michczynski & A. Pazdur, 'The Methodology of Combining Radiocarbon Dates and Other Information in Application to Study the Chronologies of Archaeological Sites', *Geochronometria: Journal on Methods and Applications of Absolute Chronology*, 22 (2003), 41-46. Available at http://www.geochronometria.pl/pdf/geo_22/Geo22_5.pdf (last accessed 15 June 2012).

Rowe) assumed that in the Inca Kingdom was a monarchy, so the rulers form the list of succeeding kings. According to the second model, called diarchic, Cuzco was governed simultaneously by two dynasties: one of them Hurin and other of the Hanan Cuzco. As a result, the length of the pre-imperial phase would be shorter by a half in comparison to the first model. However, lack of a sufficient number of ethnological evidences does not permit us to declare in favour of one of these conceptions and it is reasonable to leave the problem of diarchy open.²⁷⁸

Radiocarbon dating derives its 'objective' dating system by measuring the degree of release of radiocarbon isotopes of ^{14}C through radioactive material decay into the atmosphere from carbon-based materials that have been around for up to 100,000 years. One problem which emerged was the discovery that the biosphere's radiocarbon content has not remained constant and, in order to counteract this deviation in the results, it was found necessary to introduce a calibration device in order to accurately relate the data obtained to calendar dates. At the 12th International Radiocarbon Conference in Trondheim in 1985, for example, it was accepted that dendrochronology (dated tree rings) should be used as calibration curves and, as of 1993, this method was used to produce calibration curves to correct known radiocarbon ^{14}C results. It is important at

²⁷⁸ Adamska, A & Michczynski, A., 'Towards a Radiocarbon Chronology of the Inca State', p. 1.

this juncture to provide some information about the agreed criteria which are used in order to interpret the results produced by radiocarbon dating of archaeological material. As Sheridan Bowman, an authority on the subject, points out:

As for radiocarbon results themselves, there is also a recommended convention for citing dendrochronologically calibrated results. In calibration, radiocarbon years are converted to calendar years, but to avoid confusion it is important to distinguish calibrated dates from true historical dates. The citation convention needs to be unambiguous, hence the recommended use of cal BC, cal AD and, if necessary cal BP: calibrated radiocarbon results must not be given simply as BC, AD or BP. It is important to quote the uncalibrated result, the curves used for calibration, as well as the method of calibration, and to indicate any corrections that have been made to the original result before calibration. It is also important to say what confidence level corresponds to the calibrated ranges. Although it is conventional to quote raw radiocarbon results with $\pm 1\sigma$, users can choose to use the 95.4% confidence level if they wish. It is worth remembering that there is nearly a one to three chance of the true result lying outside the 68.3% confidence range(s), and it makes much more sense to cut the chance to one in twenty by

using the 95.4% range(s). Simply double the overall error term; unless the laboratory has indicated that the errors are non-Gaussian.²⁷⁹

Though this statement may be unduly technical, the important point to take from this is that the results should always be accompanied by an assessment of the 'confidence level' with which the calibration may be assigned to calendar dates such as BC or AD. The reference to errors within the data being 'non-Gaussian' is to the Gaussian function, error function and complementary error function which are frequently used in probability theory to indicate the level of standard deviation in the data provided. Mean and standard deviation curves are used to analyse the statistical spread of radiocarbon dates. The introduction of a Gaussian distribution, that is, a bell-shaped curve – which is itself similar to the radiocarbon curves – allows the researcher to determine the probability of a direct, error-free correlation to the calendar age (i.e. BC or AD). Gaussian distribution curves are included in the data in order to determine the probability of a date falling within a period of time. The level of probability of error in the determination of a correct calendar date is normally broken down into three levels of accuracy, as follows:

- $\pm 1\sigma$ means there is a 68.3% chance of being correct.
- $\pm 2\sigma$ means there is a 95.4% chance of being correct.

²⁷⁹ Sheridan Bowman, *Interpreting the Past: Radiocarbon Dating* (London: British Museum Press, 1990), p. 49.

- $\pm 3\delta$ means there is a 99.7% chance of being correct.

Statistical analysis is used in order to specify the level of accuracy of the computations. The graphs produced in Adamska & Michczynski's paper -- some of which have been reproduced below -- are based on the data derived from a number of different archaeological sites in the Andes, and some of the graphs show several peaks. These peaks express the most calendar dates to which the archaeological artefact should be assigned.

It is clear from the description provided in Adamska & Michczynski's paper that they have taken every care in making sure that any associated errors in the calibration have been duly noted and are evident in the calculations provided. Bowman has pointed out that, occasionally, radiocarbon results are used 'without their associated errors, as if they were absolutely known with no uncertainty,'²⁸⁰ but this is not the case here in the sense that a number of the graphs show several possible peaks, and the evidence has been handled in an objective and scientific manner. In every radiocarbon 14 measurement there exist several probabilities that indicate the likely dates where the artefact might be dated to and appropriate statistical analysis is taken in order to specify the most probable of the possible dates. In analysing their data Adamska & Michczynski decided to describe each test-case as follows: Gx-68335 (to indicate the laboratory of origin) followed by 535 (indicating the number of years before present) and ± 125 BP (to indicate the

²⁸⁰ Sheridan Bowman, *Interpreting the Past: Radiocarbon Dating* (London: British Museum Press, 1990), p. 38.

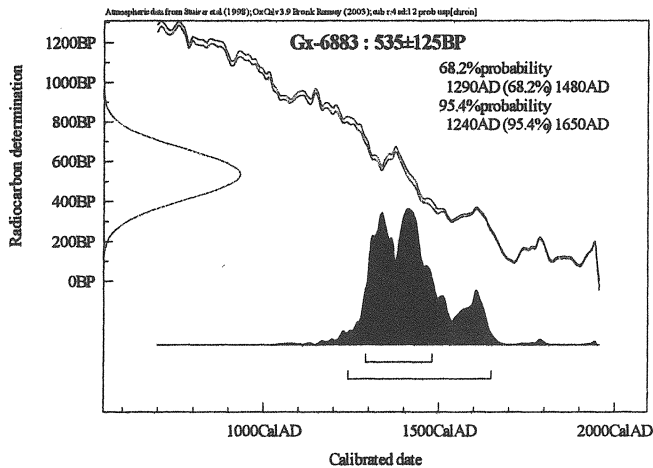
possible range of years that it might err by). In their scientific paper they state that they are satisfied, in their analysis of the length of the Pre-imperial and Imperial phases of Inca culture, with the chronology shown for the Inca State from the resultant probability of the calibration curves. They used the Gliwice Calibration Programme to calibrate the radiocarbon results and they created two groups of dates.²⁸¹ The first group contained data collected from archaeological sites which were exclusively from the Imperial phase, while the second group contained data derived from samples of artefacts collected at pre-imperial Inca sites. The results obtained by their research are important and raise the possibility that the Inca Empire may have been operational at a time which pre-dates Rowe's chronological schema. The first analysis is provided from an archaeological site in Farfan in the northern district of La Libertad.

²⁸¹ They describe this program in the following terms: 'The dates from all groups were calibrated using the Gliwice Calibration Program GdCALIB ver.6.0 (Pazdur & Michzynska 1989), The calibration curves used for the calculation were taken from 'Radiocarbon' – 'Calibration 1993' (Stuiver, Long and Kra, 1993). We calibrated dates without correction for systematic age difference between northern and southern hemisphere. Furthermore all dates were calibrated with analysed interval $\pm 3s$; see Adamska, A. & Michczynski, A., 'Towards Radiocarbon Chronology of the Inca State' http://www.carbon14.pl/~adam/Nauka/Papers/Inca_State_chronology.pdf

**'Gx-6833-535±125BP – Farfan, dep. La
Libertad, Peru',**

Farfan

As we can see, there are two distinct peaks of activity are discerned, providing the most probable dates of either 1350 or 1425. Even if the later date were accepted –



1425 – it would suggest that the Inca Empire had spread to the north of Peru at a date which, according to the Rowean scheme, pre-dates Pachacutec's reign. It is important to underline, however, that the archaeological evidence also allows for the possibility of the existence of material Inca influence at a much earlier date, namely 1350. Since the two peaks are of almost identical size, this would suggest that the earlier date is as likely to be true as the later date. This has clear implications for our understanding of the growth of the Inca Empire, and suggests – at the very least – that the Inca Empire had spread in a significant way before Pachacutec's reign.

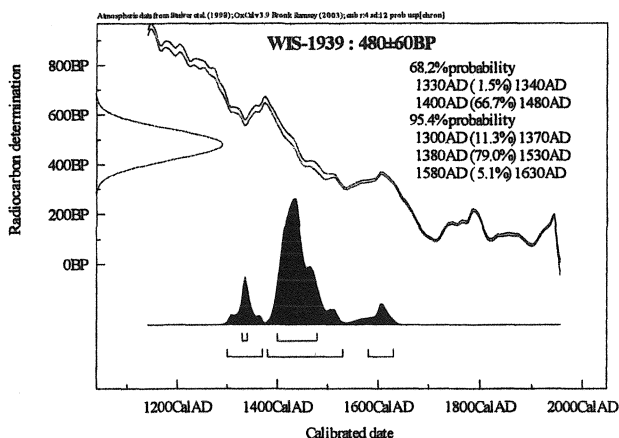
The second graph relates to archaeological data retrieved from Cerro Azul, and here once more there is evidence of Inca artefacts at an early date:

‘WIS-1939-480±60BP –

Cerro Azul, dep. Lima, Peru’,

Cerro Azul

Though there is a preponderance of material corresponding to the second date – 1440 – it is important to

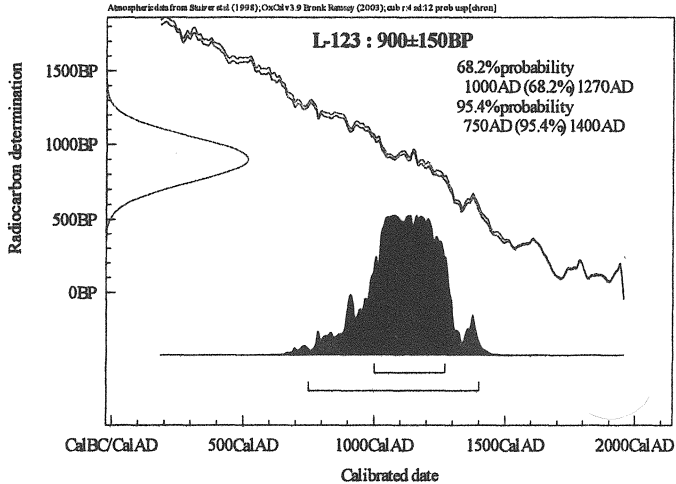


note that 1325 (as well as 1610) are also possible dates for the archaeological material, which again suggests that the Incas were building on a large scale a long time before the dates normally provided by the Rowean schema.

The third sample chosen for this analysis corresponds to the district of Pachacamac and this particular sample lists some very early dates, namely, a range between 1038 and 1213:

'L-123b-900±150BP – Pachamac, dep. Lima,
Peru', Lima.

Pachamac



Adamska and Michcynski interpret the interval yield of 1038-1213 as being one of, in their words, 'low precision', and they raise the possibility that 'that the sample derived from layers with mixed material or the rubbish could be utilized during long period'.²⁸² This is certainly possible but it serves to demonstrate the reluctance of researchers to question the Rowean schema even when the data suggests that this should be done. What this evidence calls for, at the very least, is for a re-assessment of the Rowean time scale.

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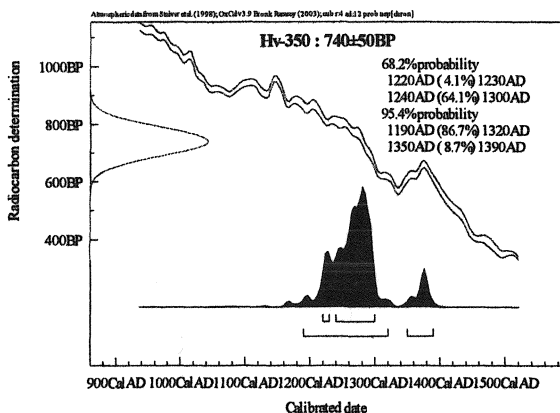
http://www.carbon14.pl/~adam/Nauka/Papers/Inca_State_chronology.pdf

My final sample is taken from an analysis of archaeological material deriving from Chancay, and here – once more – the data suggest two dates (one at 1280 AD and the other at 1370 AD) which, as the authors suggest are of ‘equal probability’:

‘Hv-350-740±50BP Chancay, dep. Lima,
Peru’,

Chancay

What these four calibration graphs suggest is that there is evidence of an earlier presence of the Incas in sites ranging from Farfan to Cerro Azul to Pachacamac and



Chancay than normally expected. This is because – according to the most significant research on Inca pottery – *Kilke* pottery is associated with the early phase of the Inca Empire.²⁸³ The archaeological evidence does not rule out the possibility that the growth of the Inca Empire took place a

²⁸³ See for example Ann Kendall’s seminal article, ‘An Archaeological Perspective for Late Intermediate Period Inca Development in the Cuzco Region’, *Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society* (1996).

century or more before the dates as set out in Rowe's chronology. Indeed, it could be argued that the archaeological evidence is finely balanced.

Where does this leave us? It is important, firstly, to recognise that the chronological development of the history of the Incas was, as we have seen, marred – on the one hand – by the failure of early chroniclers to understand the indigenous mentality and – on the other hand – by their eagerness to prove the Spanish right of conquest. In the beginning they were letters or brief accounts, some of them written by government employees like Pedrarias Dávila or de la Gama in Panama. Later, more precise documents started to appear, written by some of the conquistadors who accompanied Pizarro in the conquest of the kingdom of the Incas, such as a document written by Juan Sámano, though he had never been to the Americas, using material given to him by Francisco de Xerez, who accompanied and was secretary to Pizarro. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada suggests that the pilot Bartolomé Ruíz probably wrote this document, as the document mainly deals with the trips down the Pacific coast. Later, in 1535, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo wrote *Historia general y natural de las Indias* centred on letters written by Hernando Pizarro *A los magníficos señores los señores oydores de la Audiencia Real de Su Majestad que residen en la ciudad de Santo Domingo* (1533), and other sources such as Diego de Molina's chronicle.²⁸⁴ Oviedo's document shows early misconceptions made by the Spaniards when they used the name 'Yngua' as a proper

²⁸⁴ Clements R. Markham, *Reports of the Discovery of Peru (I)* (London: Elibron Classics, 1872).

name instead of using it as a title.²⁸⁵ However, one notes that when rewriting Miguel de Estete's text, Oviedo changes the original version by replacing Cuzco Viejo for Guainacaba, and the proper name from Chilcuchima to Chillicuchima.

Tal incorporación de información ocurre en la obra de Oviedo, por ejemplo, con la introducción de nombres de incas en el relato del viaje de Hernando Pizarro desde Cajamarca a Pachacamac, escrito por Miguel de Estete e incluido en la edición príncipe de la *Verdadera relación* de Francisco Xerez; al copiar y glosar el texto original escribió: "El dicho capitán llevaba consigo un gran señor, hijo de Guainacaba; e como vido que el dicho Chillicuchima se había ausentado dijo que el quería ir a hablarle, e que el le traería otro día; y el capitan Hernando Pizarro le hablo bien e dijo que el le aseguraba. E asi fue en unas andas donde el dicho Chillicuchima estaba.

El texto de Estete en la versión original dice: "El capitán llevaba consigo a un hijo del Cuzco Viejo, el cual como supo que Chilcuchima se había ausentado, dijo que

²⁸⁵ Fernandez de Oviedo, *Chronicle of America : New History For A New World*, ed. Kathleen Ann Myers (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007).

quería ir a donde él estaba, y así fue en unas
andas...²⁸⁶

Other changes can be appreciated when he used Xerez's text²⁸⁷ as was the case when he changed Guacanba for Guancabamba or Cuzco Viejo to Guainacava, and Cuzco to Guáscara. These changes indicate to us that the Spanish upon arrival did not understand the Indians, their ideology, political infrastructure or their language; hence these were the first documents to lead history astray.

The evidence discussed in this section of the chapter – particularly that provided by Ann Kendall, Brian Bauer and Adamska & Michczynski's paper – allows us to conclude that the chronological schema devised by Rowe in his essay 'Absolute Chronology in the Andean Region' (1945) was in fact invalid. A full appreciation of the significance of the archaeological evidence provided by Kendall and Bauer in particular allows us to edge towards a more circumspect appreciation of the nature of Pachacutec's rule. Pachacutec re-established order in Cuzco not only in a military sense, but also administratively, taking full control of all cultural and social apparatus. This is known mainly as a result of the narrative of these events as provided by Betanzos in his chronicle *Suma y narración de los Incas*; as a result of his seizing power Pachacutec found himself in the position of being able to filter out those cultural memories which did not suit the political needs of his own *panaca*. In

²⁸⁶ Franklin Pease G. Y., *Las Crónicas y los Andes* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1995), p. 17.

²⁸⁷ Francisco de Xerez, *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*, ed. Concepción Bravo (Madrid: Crónicas da América 14, Historia 16, 1985).

effect certain *panacas* and the memories of certain Incas were permitted by Pachacutec. It is known that Pachacutec re-established order in Cuzco after the Chanca wars, and that this re-structuring and administration of the Inca capital led to the creation of the four orders which belonged to the four *suyos*, two of them in the *Hanan* (High) and the other two in *Hurin* (Low). These were the four quarters which made Tawantinsuyu (the land of the four quarters), *Collasuyo*, *Antisuyo*, *Chinchasuyo* and *Contisuyo*.²⁸⁸ But it is important to underline that Pachacutec not only created an administrative order and a military order in the newly devised Inca state, he also create a new Inca 'national imaginary', one in which only certain *panacas* were allowed to remain within the national record (i.e., he kept the *panacas* unlisted up until the ninth Inca). This had particular consequences for the memorialisation of a number of Inca kings who Pachacutec disliked, such as Inca Urco, who was, as a result, excised from the public record. This might be interpreted in terms of what Michel Foucault calls 'epistemic violence' since it led to the suppression of a particular clan's identity which was similar to the act of burning the mummy of a rival clan's ancestor.²⁸⁹ It is recorded that destroying the body of an ancestor was, for the Incas, 'the greatest possible punishment'; this was, indeed, the revenge that Atahualpa enacted on Huascar's

²⁸⁸ For a description of the 'land of the four quarters', Tawantinsuyu, see the map on p. 94.

²⁸⁹ For a discussion of epistemic violence understood in a post-colonial sense see Gayatri Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, eds Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 24-28 (p. 24).

ancestors.²⁹⁰ This leads us to the research of the following chapter in which I will raise the hypothesis of a number of Inca kings who were, in effect, 'disappeared' from the national imaginary of the Inca kingdom.

²⁹⁰ Rostorowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, p. 125.

Chapter 4: The 'Lost' Incas: A New Hypothesis

The arrival of the Incas in the Cuzco valley coincided with an epoch of massive cultural and technical expansion within the central Andean region. The Incas brought with them agriculture, stone masonry, irrigation technologies, administrative skills and organization, which benefited the different ethnic groups and civilisations living in central South America. The arrival of the Incas in the Cuzco valley meant the construction and development of one of the finest cities in the Americas. Their precise origin is not known, although there are several extant stories as to where the Incas came from and how they arrived in Cuzco as seen earlier in this thesis, and the majority of these narratives have come down to us via the chronicles. As a result of the need felt by the Spanish Crown to justify its military and political expansion within the New World, it became essential to gather information about the history of the Incas. Indeed the Conquest initiated one of the most significant and intensive information-gathering operations the world had ever seen. The chronicles written by various hands, the Visitas which characterised the conclusion of a Viceroy's reign, the reports based on the sittings of the *oidores* in the main administrative and bureaucratic centres of the New World, the letters and reports written by conquistadors, *encomenderos* and priests – all contributed to the creation of an information data base the like of which was unprecedented at the time. As we have seen, the sheer volume of the information itself meant that there were discrepancies about the 'truth' of what had happened in the past. Clearly, there were occasions on which the informants used the opportunity of providing an account of past events

in such a way as to gain personal advantage for oneself or for one's kith and kin.

One of the more acute problems of historiography in the world of the Incas derived from the habit of viewing history not so much as an objective narrative of facts but rather as a creation of past reality which was intrinsically related to the present and – to an extent which would be seen as unusual for a rigidly ‘objectivist’ historian – is ‘governed’ by the needs of the present.²⁹¹ The chroniclers provide a number of examples of this. Pedro Cieza de León, for example, in chapter 74 of *Parte primera de la Crónica del Perú* makes a general observation of the special circumstances which characterised history-writing for the Incas:

As these Indians have no writing, and relate their past from the memory of it that has been preserved from one age to another in their ballads and quipus, they differ on many points, some saying one thing and some another, and no human mind could put all this in order, but can only take from what they relate that which they themselves consider most true. I point this out for the benefit of those Spaniards in Peru who pride themselves on knowing many of the secrets of these people; I learned and informed myself about all they think they know and understand, and much more, and out of all

²⁹¹ An ‘objectivist’ historian is one whose work is ruled by the notion of the objective reality of material facts.

this I have set down what they can see, and to do this I took the trouble they are fully aware of.²⁹²

This particular praxis whereby history is re-articulated on a constantly evolving basis provides ample opportunity for the manipulation of past deeds in terms of the needs of the present. Cieza de León gives a concrete example of how history-writing for the Incas was predicated on the feats of the Inca Kings when he describes the treatment given to Viracocha's successor, Inca Urco. As we read in chapter 74 of *Parte primera de la Crónica Del Perú*:

All the natives of these provinces, as well as the orejones, laughed at the acts of the Inca Urco. Because of his pusillanimity they did not wish him to enjoy the reputation of having attained the dignity of the Inca realism and we see that when in their songs and ballads they tell of the Incas who ruled in Cuzco, they do not mention [this Inca Urco]. But I shall do this, for, after all, well or badly, with vices or virtues, he governed and ruled the kingdom for some time.²⁹³

Although Cieza de León refers here to Urco as an Inca, some of the other chroniclers, as we shall see, decline to include him in their list of the Inca Kings. This

²⁹² *The Incas of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, trans. Harriet de Onis, ed. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), pp. 231-32.

²⁹³ *The Incas of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, p. 222.

immediately alerts us to one of the problems of Inca historiography and, in order to do justice to this issue, I have decided to provide a review of each of the Incas according to the 'official' version and, at appropriate junctures, include discussion of the conflicting versions of the history of each Inca as provided by the chroniclers, in an attempt to identify whether there were any 'lost' Incas and, if so, who they were.

Manco Capac, the first Inca King

The majority of the chroniclers list Manco Capac as the first Inca King, the individual who founded Cuzco, and, to that extent, his history is not contentious. As Cieza de León suggests:

Manco Capac founded the city of Cuzco and gave it laws which he put into effect, and he and his descendants were called Incas, which means or signifies kings or great lords. They became so powerful that they conquered and ruled from Pasto to Chile, and to the south the Maule River saw their banners, and to the north, the Angasmayo, and these rivers were the boundaries of their empire, which was so large that the distance between these two limits was more than 1,200 leagues.²⁹⁴

The canonic history of the Incas begins with the reign of Manco Capac who settled in the Cuzco valley and was unable to expand his territories outside of Cuzco, due to constant skirmishes with the residing ethnias of the Cuzco

²⁹⁴ Cieza de León, *The Incas*, p. 26.

valleys. This era is considered as the *Curacazgo incaico* (Inca Chiefdom) and the region in which they settled comprises the higher region of the valley of Cuzco which covers the heights of the Colcampata Mountain and the Saphy and Tullumayo rivers. Rostworowski argues that the Alcaviza people resided next to the area the Incas conquered and that the Incas did not subjugate them until the reign of Mayta Capac. Manco Capac is alleged in the majority of the chronicles to have conquered the Hualla, Sahuasira, Antasaya, Humanamean, Poque and Lare peoples. The surrounding areas were populated by many warrior peoples such as the Huayllacan, Pinahua, Paulla, Mara, Anata as well as the very powerful Ayarmaca, whose importance in the region was maintained until the government of Pachacutec. However, the Incas had made some allies in this territory, including the Cayaocache and the Saño, through an alliance of marriage when Sinchi Roca took as his Colla the princess, Mama Coca. After defeating the Sahuasira the Incas settled in their terrain which comprised an area extending some 10 ha, and upon it founded their city, Cuzco. According to the majority of the chroniclers, such as Sarmiento de Gamboa, Cabello de Balboa and Cieza de León, the Sahuasari had settled in the higher regions of Cuzco, and called it Chumbicancha, which the Incas later renamed as Sairicancha which comprised 5 hectares.

The lower part was originally known as Quinticancha was more precipitous and was the renamed Pumachupan by the Incas during the reign of Pachacutec. The Incas levelled the Inticancha region and it was here where they constructed their religious and governmental buildings. The Incas and their allied ayllus settled in the rest of the area. Four

neighbourhoods formed Incallacta, which is how the Tawantinsuyo was known during the Hurin period. These were: Inticancha, where they had the religious and governmental buildings; Sairicancha; Yarambuycancha; and Quinticancha, where the majority of the settlements of the Inca and their allies' ayllus had settled. Soon after defeating the Sahuasira, Manco Capac and his allies embarked on a series of wars with the aim of defeating their neighbours and consolidating their conquests. They attacked the Huallas and, in Huaynapata, defeated their chief Apo Calla.

Rostworowski argues that several chroniclers such as Cieza de León and Sarmiento de Gamboa relate the story where Mama Huaco kills an Indian by devouring his entrails, although some of the versions differ slightly (*Temática del Perú*, pp. 86-87). Betanzos does not mention which people the Incas were fighting (*Suma y narración de los Incas*). Sarmiento de Gamboa on the other hand states that it was a Hualla Indian who suffered this death (*Segunda parte de la historia general llamada Indica*, p. 88). Murúa does not specify whether this Indian was Lara, Poque or Hualla, but when he writes a small biography of Mama Huaco he stipulates that it was a Poque Indian.²⁹⁵ Soon after the Incas defeated them, the Poque settled by the Paucartambo river, whilst the Lare settled in Calca. The Incas then occupied Pachatusan, the previous capital of the Hualla, which was strategically placed, since the road from Paucartambo and the higher zone could be viewed from

²⁹⁵ Martin de Murúa, *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes incas del Perú*, MS Loyola (c. 1609), ed. Constantino Bayle (Madrid: Biblioteca Missionalia Hispánica, 1946), p. 36.

there. From Pachatusan the Incas continued to harass their neighbours. The Sahuasira allied themselves with the Copalimayta and the Alcaviza and forced the Incas back to Huaynapata. However, the Saño came to the Incas' aid and together they defeated the alliance forcing them to flee the valley to which they would never return. Following these wars the Incas then conquered the lands known as Chumbicancha, which used to belong to the Sahuasira as well as the area of Quinticancha.

Basing herself on this evidence as well as part of Rowe's theories, Rostworowski concluded that the Incas settled in the Cuzco region in the early thirteenth century and that the empire did not expand until the fifteenth century, a theory that was first expounded by John H. Rowe,²⁹⁶ which, as we shall discuss below, is limited to the legends that the Incas left us and were written by the chroniclers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rostworowski furthermore argued that the only way to analyse the first stages of the Inca culture is by the use of archaeology and not through ethno-history as its fundamental concepts are only written during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. It was during the Wari culture's decadence that other civilizations in the central Andes first started to migrate and that the Incas were one of these ethnic groups, which eventually settled in the Cuzco region. This event occurred towards the end of what archaeologists term the Middle Horizon, a period during which no central power controlled the ethnic groups, which were migrating around

²⁹⁶ Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu*, pp.21-24.

the area. Rostworowski states that there is no known reason for the migration, but suggests that it might have been the fall of the Wari Empire or maybe battles or wars or a prolonged natural disaster such as drought or a deluge.²⁹⁷

Rostworowski, for her part, relying on the chronicles of Betanzos, Cieza de León and Garcilaso argues that there were two dynasties of Incas, the Hurin (Sinchi Roca, Lloque Yupanqui, Mayta Capac, and Capac Yupanqui) and the Hanan (Inca Roca, Yahuar Huaca, Viracocha, Pachacutec Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac), of which Manco Capac belongs to neither.²⁹⁸ This detail is important because it provides information about one of the reasons why the succession of the Incas was often characterised by political instability – it indicates that throughout the reign of the Incas there were two clans – the Hurin and the Hanan – who were perpetually vying for power. The majority of the later chroniclers, such as the mentioned by Garcilaso de la Vega Inca, follow the succession of Inca rulers as described by Sarmiento de Gamboa and Cabello de Balboa. However, there are other writers – such as Pedro Pizarro, Betanzos, and Montesinos – who mentioned other Inca kings, now lost to Sarmiento or Balboa's list. Amongst these lost mentioned Incas, are Tarco Huaman, Amaro Topa, Urco Inca, Inca Yupanqui, and Yamque Yupanqui. My hypothesis is that there were, indeed, more Inca kings than appear on the Sarmiento de Gamboa or Cabello de Balboa list – which, in

²⁹⁷ Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Historia del Tahuantinsuyu*, pp. 23-24.

²⁹⁸ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *Temática Perú* (Lima: Empresa Editora El Comercio S.A., 2004), pp. 9-80 and 86-87.

itself, of course has implications for the veracity of Rowe's chronological schema.

Sinchi Roca, the second Inca King

According to the majority of the chroniclers, Manco Capac's successor was Sinchi Roca, as Rostworowski suggests:

The Inca who succeeded Manco Capac, according to Sarmiento's and Cabello's list was Sinchi Roca. He is credited with having extended the Intihuasi (temple to the Sun God), ordering the construction of terraces, and the transportation of fertile earth to the valley of Cuzco as well as the draining of the marshes in the middle of the valley. Manco Capac originally built the Intihuasi but it is thought that it was of a rustic appearance and built of adobe bricks. However, Sinchi Roca ordered its re-building, since the temple was of great importance to Inca rites and the adoration of the Sun God. He also ordered the building of a palace to accommodate his family and his personal guard, this is because the palace built by Manco Capac would have been taken over by Chima Panaca, the *ayllu* of Manco Capac. (*Historia del Tahuantinsuyu*, p. 76)

Due to the fact that the central lands of the Cuzco valley was infertile and subject to frequent flooding, Sinchi Roca implemented the building of extensive terraces as well as the movement of fertile earth to fill them. It is also

possible that Sinchi Roca improved the road system, making it safer between Cuzco and the Saño settlement. After settling in Cuzco, the successive governments to Manco Capac's were highly unstable due to the presence of the Antasay and the Alcaviza peoples who neighboured the Inca's territories, amongst others. The Antasaya and the Alcaviza, though at peace with the Incas, presented an uncomfortable situation as they impeded their possibilities of expansion towards Colcampata, since the Alcaviza and the Antasaya occupied agricultural lands and controlled waters for the purpose of irrigation in the area. The Alcaviza's presence remained a threat as they had consistently been hostile to the Incas. Their capital Acamama was close to the Inca's Incallacta. Neutral territory separating them was small and was of common use to both ethnic groups for daily activities such as the gathering of drinking water, as well as for commercial and recreation activities. These activities often provoked disagreements which led to minor confrontations. As we shall see, although by the time of Pachacutec's reign the Incas had already started their conquests throughout the Central Andes, it was not until then that the Cuzco region was finally consolidated. This suggests that, although the Incas had conquered outside the Cuzco region prior to Pachacutec's reign, this particular ethnic group was not consolidated until later on.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ The source of the main events described here is derived from Maria Rostorowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, trans. Harry B. Iceland (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), esp. 30-35.

Lloque (or Lloqui) Yupanqui, the third Inca King

Many chroniclers, such as Sarmiento de Gamboa, suggest that the government of Lloque Yupanqui was of little consequence to the expansion of the Inca Empire. The Indians, when telling Lloque Yupanqui's story, suggest that this was due to constant local rebellions that occurred during his reign. However, some chroniclers, such as Bernabé Cobo and Santa Cruz de Pachacuti Yamque, believe that during Lloque Yupanqui's government the Intihuasi was embellished and the Acllahuasi (the house of the virgins chosen to knit for and serve the Sun God) was built, along with the creation of a public market and that Lloque Yupanqui drove the Antasaya off their land and moved them to the suburb of Cayaocache.³⁰⁰ The creation and regulation of the market by Lloque Yupanqui was of great importance, since the Incas did not have money but rather they traded by bartering. Lloque Yupanqui's presence here was of extreme importance as he established the rules for bartering. Furthermore, many of their so-called enemies, such as the Antasaya and the Alcavizas, traded with the Incas in this market, which they called *cutu*. Furthermore, forcing the Antasaya ethnic group to leave their lands led to socio-political and economic changes. This meant that the Incas could embark on an expansion towards the northeast and the acquisition of vast expanses of land, which had to be protected because of the agricultural produce. Hence communication systems were built for easy accessibility.

³⁰⁰ See Maria Rostorowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, p. 45.

Mayta Capac, the fourth Inca King

In contrast to Lloque Yupanqui, his successor's reign was characterised by extensive colonisation of surrounding areas. During his realm a vast network of roads was added to the Inca realm. Mayta Capac was the Inca ruler renowned for his Herculean strength and his ability as a warrior. From childhood his fighting prowess was legendary and included tales of injuring and even slaying Alcaviza men. The Alcaviza chief, fed up with this, decided to take up arms against Mayta Capac which resulted in the final defeat and imprisonment for life of the Alcaviza chieftains, Apomayta and Cuscochima, and the deportation of their people to Cayaocache. The *kipucamayocs* told Vaca de Castro that Mayta Capac did not develop the city of Cuzco further since he was constantly at war with ethnic groups that were rebelling in the *suyos* and conquering further afield.³⁰¹ In his chronicle, Sarmiento de Gamboa maintains that the early Incas had all lived in the region of Inticancha.³⁰²

According to Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, Mayta Capac lived outside this area and thus we can deduce that Sarmiento de Gamboa contradicts himself in his chronicle, when he argues that once the Alcaviza took him by surprise, they were defeated and forced to retreat back to their lands. However, they re-grouped and mounted a second attack again threatening to destroy the house of the Sun. By this time Mayta Capac had already retired home, which was

³⁰¹ See Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, pp. 1-76.

³⁰² *Segunda parte de la historia general llamada indica*, p. 87.

away from the city, and was unaware of these events. When informed of this he and fifty of his guardsmen met his enemies in the square and after arguing with them, slaughtered them all.

Capac Yupanqui, the fifth Inca King

Yupanqui was the last of the Inca rulers who belonged to the Hurin dynasty.³⁰³ Like his father before him, he was an accomplished warrior and leader and was the first to venture outside of the Cuzco region. His military triumphs gained him the respect and admiration of his enemies. A powerful *sinchi* (chieftain) of the Ayarmaca of Anta, who were formidable adversaries of the Incas, offered Capac Yupanqui his daughter, Cusi Hilpay, in marriage. Capac Yupanqui was arguably the single Inca leader of the Hurin dynasty to do the most to embellish and develop the city of Cuzco. He enhanced the House of the Sun and the House of the Virgins that were chosen to serve the Sun God. He constructed buildings, bridges, roads, aqueducts and watering canals, as well as erecting a magnificent palace in which to reside with his family. It was during his time that they started to carve the façade of the House of the Sun. Betanzos elaborates on these events when he relates that this Inca was preoccupied by the beauty, the preservation of the environment and the ecology of the area. Betanzos argues that this Inca planted trees and made the Intipampa square into a forest.³⁰⁴ Upon Capac Yupanqui's death, Betanzos states that his widow, Cusi Hilpay, as a sign of mourning,

³⁰³ Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1964), p. 8.

³⁰⁴ Quoted by Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 25.

ordered the transplanting of the trees to the Quinticancha neighbourhood. However, all was not well during his reign.³⁰⁵ Although he exalted himself with his military victories, gaining at the same time the respect of neighbouring states and even establishing alliances with old adversaries, one of his wives, Cusi Chimbo, jealous of his marriage to the daughter of the Ayarmacac chief, plotted against him with members of the Hanan group. They attacked the Inticancha neighbourhood, killing the rightful heir, Quispe Yupanqui, and laid siege on the government and proclaimed Capac Yupanqui's other son, Inca Roca, as Inca head of state.³⁰⁶

Inca Roca, the sixth Inca King

Rostworowski argues that Inca Roca became the first Inca of the Hanan dynasty.³⁰⁷ Although some chroniclers such as Garcilaso credit Sinchi Roca with the draining of the marshes, most ethno-historians, such as Pease and Rostworowski, believe that it was the work of Inca Roca.³⁰⁸ Others, such as Sarmiento, believe it was Capac Yupanqui.³⁰⁹ However, there are a large number of enterprises accredited to Inca Roca and these include hydraulic works, the building of roads, urbanization, and the extension of Cuzco by organising large construction projects. If he did not commence the project of draining the

³⁰⁵ Quoted by Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 26.

³⁰⁶ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 27.

³⁰⁷ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 27.

³⁰⁸ See Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 28.

³⁰⁹ See Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 29.

marshes, he probably finished the work his father had started. He also arranged for the city and the lands in the vicinity to have a reservoir and appropriate canals to distribute the water among the households of Cuzco, coupled with the lands which lay idle because of lack of water. Furthermore, he canalized a stretch of the river Saphy so that both sections of the city would benefit from having water supplied to their homes. As Rostworowski states:

Inca Roca dirigió sus esfuerzos a consolidar su gobierno. Una de sus primeras acciones fue la mudanza del palacio real; por ello, abandonó el Inticancha, morada tradicional de los Hurin Cuzco, para trasladarse a la parte alta de la ciudad, donde se construyó una nueva residencia. De ahí en adelante, cada soberano edificaría su propio palacio al asumir el gobierno. Además, este Inca fue el primero que se preocupó por mejorar el Cuzco. Frente a la limitación de no contar con un río próximo a la ciudad, Inca Roca se propuso abastecerla de agua. Ayudado por los dioses y sus ancestros, logró encontrar corrientes de aguas subterráneas que fueron encauzadas por medio de un canal revestido de piedras. De este modo, cumplió su objetivo.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 30.

Yahuar Huaca (or Huacac), seventh Inca King

It is from the reign of Yahuar Huaca onwards that the most divergent versions of what occurred in the Inca Kingdom appear. There are, for example, a number of points on which chroniclers are very much at odds about what occurred not only in Yahuar Huaca's reign, but also in that of his successor, Viracocha and, even more contentious, what occurred during the reign of the latter's successor, namely, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. According to Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and Bernabé Cobo, for example, it was Yahuar Huaca who fled Cuzco when threatened by the Chancas and it was his successor, Viracocha, who heroically remained behind and successfully defeated the Chancas. It is worth quoting the narrative of Bernabé Cobo at this point:

Since Yahuar Huacac realized that his eldest son was harsh and arrogant and that he had sunk below the kind and gentle condition of his Inca forebears, and fearing that he would destroy the kingdom if he took the sceptre, the Inca attempted to discipline him by every possible means, and when he saw that his son did not mend his ways, he forced him to leave, sending him as an exile to a cold bleak place called Chita (...) During the exile of the prince, the Chanca Indians rebelled (...) and with an army of thirty thousand men they marched around Cuzco, intending to destroy it. On considering the danger to himself and how that rebellion had taken him by surprise, the Inca did not dare to confront his enemies; rather, on receiving the news that they were

close to the city, he abandoned the palace, leaving it, along with the majority of its residents, who, imitating their king, took refuge in secure places.³¹¹

As the narrative continues, it then falls to Yahuar Huaca's son, Vircocha, to save the day by returning to Cuzco and routing the Chancas: 'When this news reached the ears of the exiled prince, he decided to come out to meet this challenge and oppose the enemy' (Cobo, p. 127). In retrospect, of course, it was the defeat of the Chancas that led to the dynamic growth of the Inca Empire – its zenith – while the moment of cowardice which proceeded was, by contrast, its nadir. This explains why there is so much scraping around in the narrative versions of this event for different pieces of evidence which 'prove' who was the hero and who the coward. Thus chroniclers such as Betanzos and Cieza de León disagree with Cobo's version of events and credit Pachacutec, that is, Viracocha's successor with being the hero who saved the day, as we shall see. According to Cieza de León, for example, it was Pachacutec's cowardly brother, Urco, who nearly allowed the Chancas to conquer Cuzco – before Pachacuti appeared like a white knight in shining armour to rout the Incas' arch-enemies.

One thing is made clear by a comparison of the various versions of events in the chronicles and that is the fact that the Incas had been fighting a running battle with the Chancas since the reign of Inca Roca, the sixth King. Rostworowski provides the following helpful synthesis:

³¹¹ Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, trans. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), pp. 126-27.

Enterado Inca Roca del avance chanca, decidió solicitar la ayuda de sus vecinos, los Canas y los Canchis, grupos mercenarios aún independientes que participaban en las contiendas para obtener recompensas o botines de Guerra. Con un ejército compuesto por 20,000 hombres, después de pasar el río Apurímac, para la cual se construyó un Puente, el Inca atacó sorpresivamente. La repentina incursión fue un éxito, ya que provocó el desbande de los Chancas. Varios años más tarde, Inca Roca organizó una expedición hacia el Antisuyu, la cual estuvo al mando del príncipe Yahuar Huaca.³¹²

As Rostworowski points out, chroniclers such as Betanzos, Cieza de León and Sarmiento narrated how Yahuar Huaca was kidnapped by the Ayarmaca people when he was eight years old, when his life was threatened. Because of the fear, he is said to have cried tears of blood. The Ayarmaca, astounded by this, did not carry the threat out and one of the wives of Tocay Capac, the chief who had kidnapped him, snatched the child and returned him to the Incas. There are few references left about Yahuar Huaca as the chroniclers wrote little about him. Of the few mentioned, according to Cieza, he placed the stone, which they called the 'Stone of war', which was huge and gold plated, embossed with precious stones, in the Temple of the Sun. According to other chroniclers, such as Betanzos, Yahuar Huaca ordered for it to be placed in the main square. Cieza

³¹² Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 30.

states that he dedicated himself to the embellishment of Cuzco before going to war against the Hatun Colla.³¹³

The only chronicler who credits Yahuar Huaca with many campaigns of conquest is Inca Garcilaso de la Vega who mentions that he raised an army of 20,000 men for the conquest of the region known as Arequipa.³¹⁴ According to Rowe, Rostworowski and Pease, this would have been impossible at the time since the population of Cuzco consisted of no more than 4,250 in the 1380s. They suggest at the same time that even if one added the forces of his allies it would have still been impossible.³¹⁵

Chroniclers such as Cieza, Betanzos and Garcilaso consistently refer to the many military campaigns and victories that Viracocha had during his reign, even though he did not confront the Chanca people when they threatened to take Cuzco (this is refuted by Garcilaso, as he states that it was Viracocha who confronted the Chancas and that Yahuar Huaca was the Inca that ran away). However, Sarmiento says that a number of the conquests were actually carried out by his father Yahuar Huaca:

Y de aquí fué a conquistar a Pillauya, tres leguas del Cuzco. En el valle de Písac, y luego al pueblo Choica, en aquella cercanía, y el pueblo de Yuco. Y después desto oprimió por fuerza y con crueldades a los del pueblo de Chillíncay y Taocamarca y los

³¹³ For further discussion see Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 31.

³¹⁴ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 32.

³¹⁵ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 33.

cabiñas, y los hizo dar tributo. De manera queste Inga Yáguar Guaca conquistó diez pueblos por sí y por sus hijos y capitanes, aunque algunos atribuyeron las conquistas déste a su hijo Viracocha Inga.³¹⁶

The narratives of the succession of power as well as who was actually responsible for the defeat of the Chancas is a flashpoint of disagreement in the chronicles, and this is clearly related to the political desire of some informants to show the ancestors of their clan in a positive light and show the ancestors of a rival clan in a negative light. It is not likely that this issue will ever be satisfactorily resolved, although – given the epithet of ‘he who weeps blood’ that was commonly applied to Yahuar Huaca – and not only by Cobo – it is likely that Cobo’s version of events which points the finger of guilt at Yahuar Huaca is the most likely to have occurred.

Viracocha Inca, the eighth Inca King

According to Rostworowski and Pease, it was Viracocha who was the first to incorporate the lands and nations he conquered into the empire. This is either extracted from the chronicle of Sarmiento de Gamboa or that of Cieza de León. Sarmiento, for example, wrote of how Viracocha’s ancestors dedicated themselves only to pillage and the spilling of blood, thereby failing to leave a military presence in the form of garrisons in the cities and towns they

³¹⁶ Sarmiento, *Segunda parte de la historia general llamada Indica*, p. 90.

subjugated.³¹⁷ Viracocha was the first of the Incas to subjugate peoples such as the Caytomarca of Calca, the Canchi of Cangalla, the Combapata, the Colla, and the Cana of the Altiplano. It is intriguing that the majority of the chroniclers, even those who emphasise his military prowess, omit to mention Viracocha's development of Cuzco (the best example being Sarmiento in his *Segunda parte*, p. 90). Two important exceptions are Santa Cruz de Pachacutec and El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Santa Cruz de Pachacutec, for example, mentions Viracocha as being a docile Inca who dedicated his government to the construction of palaces, houses and the fortress of Saccsahuaman.³¹⁸ El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, on the other hand, not only credits him with the reconstruction and re-organisation of Cuzco, but also with the eventual defeat of the Chanca confederation and the expansion of the empire.³¹⁹

Inca Urco, the ninth Inca King (1st 'lost' Inca)

It is important to underline at this point that Urco's name as potentially the ninth Inca King was excised from the official record. The reason why he has been included here is because he is mentioned by Cieza de León, who is seen by many as one of the finest if not the finest of all the chroniclers of the Inca Empire. The passage concerned has been quoted already earlier in this chapter, and there are two reasons why it may be seen as trustworthy, firstly because it

³¹⁷ Sarmiento, *Segunda parte de la historia general llamada Indica*, p. 91.

³¹⁸ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 35.

³¹⁹ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 35.

mentions how and why the record was changed (because of his 'pusillanimity' they would not remember him in their songs) and, secondly, because Cieza de León did not, as it were, have an axe to grind. Adding further corroboration to this hypothesis is the fact that both Betanzos and Sarmiento in their chronicles also allude to Viracocha at the end of his reign feeling tired and, because of his advanced age, deciding to nominate his son, Urco, as his successor, at which point he retired to his palace in Jaquijahuana.³²⁰ However, prior to this the Chanca confederation, originally from Huancavelica and Apurímac, had defeated the Quechua peoples of Andahuaylas and, after crossing the Apurímac River, invaded Inca lands. The Chanca confederation now found themselves in Vilcacuna near Rimac Tampu when Viracocha crowned Urco as Inca. When the Chancas were in the proximity of Cuzco, Urco fled the city in a cowardly way, leaving it to the mercy of the Chancas, whilst he took refuge at his father's palace in Yucay.

Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui, also known as Titu Cusi Yupanqui, and Pachacutec, the tenth Inca King

The majority of the chroniclers (i.e. such as Betanzos, Cieza de León and Sarmiento de Gamboa), except from Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and Bernabé Cobo, concur that it was Titu Cusi Yupanqui, eventually known as Pachacutec, youngest son of Viracocha, who defended Cuzco against the Chanca confederation.³²¹ Sarmiento

³²⁰ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 37.

³²¹ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 37.

disagrees, arguing that Inca Yupanqui, also known as Pachacutec, was the second born son from the legitimate wife called Mama Rondocaya and that Urco was the son of a favourite concubine called Curi Chulpa.³²² However, the generally accepted version as synthesised in Rostworowski's version was that Pachacutec organised the defence of Cuzco, defeated the Chanca confederation, unified the people of the valley and initiated the Inca era of splendour.³²³ This was the Incas' finest hour.

Their arch-rivals, the Chancas, were an ethnic group established in the regions of what is today known as Ayacucho and Apurímac. Similar in this to the Incas, they were divided into two groups: the Hanan (above) and the Hurin (below). According to their myth their *pacariña* came from the two lakes Choclococha and Urcococha. They are presumed to have been a warrior nation who had recently conquered the Andahuaylas and occupied their territories and now were poised to take on the capital of the mighty Incas. During the government of Viracocha, the Chancas, after dividing their army in three, left Paucaray not far from Parcos and headed towards the Inca capital, Cuzco. So confident were they of an easy victory against the Incas that Hasta Guaraca, their leader (curaca) and his brother Omoguara sent two of his armies towards the region of Contisuyu and the third one towards Cuzco. We are told by Betanzos and Sarmiento de Gamboa that Viracocha was old and tired of waging wars and decided to leave Cuzco to its fate. Together with his son, Urco, who had been given the

³²² Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 38.

³²³ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 38.

*mascaypacha*³²⁴ and, according to Inca custom, married the woman destined to become the next Colla, took refuge in the Chita fortress in the region of Yucay. As Sarmiento states:

Y las gentes y compañías que de Uscouilca (Chanca leader) restaban, en el tiempo del ingazgo del Inga Viracocha habían multiplicado numerosísimamente, y, pareciéndoles que eran tan poderosos que en la tierra nadie les podía ugalar, determinaron de salir de Andaguail[l]as a robar y conquistar el Cuzco. Y para lo hacer, eligieron dos cinches, llamados el uno Astoiguaraca u el otro Tomaiguaraca, el uno de la parcialidad de Hanancancha y el otro de Hurincancha, para que los caudillasen en su empresa y jornada. Eran estos chances y cinches soberbios e insolentes, y partiendo de Andaguaillas marcharon la vuelta del Cuzco y asentaron en un sitio llamado Ichopampa, cinco leguas del Cuzco al poniente, adonde estuvieron algunos días, atemorizando la comarca y dando orden para entrar en el Cuzco.

Lo cual, como lo publicasen, puso tanto terror en los orejones cuzcos, que hicieron dudar al inga Viracocha, que dentro estaba e ya era muy Viejo y cansado. Y no teniendo por seguar la maita y Uicaquírao le dijeron:

³²⁴ This was an Inca head dress representing power equivalent to a king's crown.

“¡Inga Viracocha! Entendido habemos lo que ante nosotros has propuesto sobre el acuerdo que debes tomar en esta cuyuntura y después de bien mirado, nos parece que como tú seas tan viejo quebrantado de los muchos trabajos que as padecido en las guerras pasadas, no es bien que ágora tomes un trabajo tan grande, peligroso y dudoso de vitoria, como el presente delante los ojos se te ofrece, sino que más sano consejo que para tu seguridad puedes tomar es que, pues no hay otro remedio más breve, dejes, señor, el Cuzco y te vayas al pueblo de Chita y de allí de Caqui Xaquixaguana, que es fuerte sitio, desde donde podrás tratar de medios con los chancas”. Lo cual dicen que éstos aconsejaron al Inga Viracocha por echallo del Cuzco y tener ocasión Buena, sin estorbo, de poner en efeto su designo, que alzar por inga a Cusi Inga Yupangui. De cualquiera manera que haya sido esto, es cierto que él consejo fué aceptado por Inga Viracocha, y se determinó de partir del Cuzco para Chita, como se lo habían dado por parecer. Y como Cusi Inga Yupangui vido su padre determinado de dejar el Cuzco, dicen que le dijo: “ ¿Cómo padre, ha cabido en vuestro corazón aceptar un consejo tan infame de dejar el Cuzco, ciudad del Sol y del Viracocha, cuyo nombre vos tomastes, cuya promesa vos tenéis que series gran señor, vos y vuestros descendientes?” Y esto dijo, aunque mozo, con ánimo osado de

hombre de mucha honra. Y que le respondió el padre que era mozo, y como tal hablaba aquellas razones I[n]consideradas y que se fuesen de allí estas palabras. Replicó Inga Yupangui que se fuese él adonde tenía acordado, quel no pensaba salir del Cuzco ni desamparar la ciudad del Sol. Todo lo cual dicen que debió ser tramado por los dichos capitanes de Inga Viracocha, Apo Maita y Uicaquirao, por desvelar a los que de la quedada del Inga Yupangui podían concebir sospecho. Así, quell Viracocha salió del Cuzco y se fué a Chita, llevando consigo a Inga Arco y a Inga Zoczo, sus dos hijos bastardos, quedándose en el Cuzco su hijo Inga Yupangui con ánimo de morir o defender el Cuzco; y con él quedaron siete, que fueron: Inga Roca, su hermano legítimo y mayor, Apo Maita, Uicaquírao, Quillisca[che] Urco Guaranca, Chima Chaui Pata Yupangui, Viracocha Inga Páucar y Mircoimana, ayo de Inga Yupangui.³²⁵

Rostworowski suggests that Titu Cusi Yupanqui, the youngest of Viracocha's sons and member of the *Iñaca panaca*, a royal *Ayllu*, organized the defence of Cuzco City whilst his father and half-brother were negotiating terms of surrender with the Chanca leaders.³²⁶ Betanzos states that the young prince had approached some of their allies for

³²⁵ Sarmiento, *Segunda parte*, p. 89.

³²⁶ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 40.

help. However, they were frightened of what the Chancas might do to them for helping the Incas, and therefore, refused to assist him through fear that their fate might be worse than that of the Incas should they help them. They decided instead to await the outcome and ally themselves to the victors. Titu Cusi Yupanqui ordered massive holes to be dug, spears to be stuck at the bottom of them and covered with branches, in the hope that the Chanca warriors would fall and impale themselves upon their arrival. A priest of the Sun had advised the young prince to dress stones as warriors in order to simulate an army waiting to enter battle.

Viracocha and Urco warned the Chanca leaders that his youngest son was taking up the defence of Cuzco. They replied that it was of no concern to them because his defeat was imminent. The Chancas were so confident of victory that after telling Titu Cusi Yupanqui (Pachacutec) to surrender, which he refused, they gave him three months to prepare Cuzco's defence. The battle commenced and the Chancas lost many men who fell into the holes dug up by the defenders of Cuzco. During the battle, as suggested in Betanzos's narrative, Pachacutec asked the stones he had dressed to attack the Chanca army and the stones stood up and advanced against them causing fear among the Chanca forces.³²⁷ The ethnic groups waiting foresaw the outcome and when they saw the Chancas fleeing, joined the forces of Titu Cusi Yupanqui who were chasing the Chancas. Titu Cusi Yupanqui, disregarding his own safety, attacked a group of Chanca captains who were defending their sacred war emblem, the *Uscovilca*, and captured it. Soon after the

³²⁷ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 40.

Chanca leaders surrendered to the young prince who marched them to Yucay only for them to be trampled upon by Viracocha, as was practised by the Incas. However, Viracocha refused to accept them, saying that the honour should go to Urco as he was now the Inca. Pachacutec refused to accept this and left.

After the defeat of the Chancas, Titu Cusi Yupanqui decided to consolidate his dominion and assembled an army to go to war against the rebel curacas who had refused to help him. However, not long after, he heard that his half-brother, Urco, had recruited an army in Yucay and was marching upon Cuzco. The young prince, together with his brother, Inca Roca, confronted Urco's army by the shores of the River Urubamba. In Betanzos's account Inca Roca threw a stone which hit Urco on the throat causing him to fall into the river; he was dragged by the strong current and his adversaries caught up with him and killed him.³²⁸

Many ethnic groups were incorporated into the Inca state during the time of Titu Cusi Yupanqui. Amongst some of the ethnic groups to be finally defeated and conquered were the Ayarmaca and the Ollantay Tambo. Once Viracocha had resigned himself to the death of his favourite son, Urco, he handed over the *Mascaypacha* to Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who was crowned and took the name of Pachacutec. Rostworowski, citing Bentanzos, says that having consolidated his domain, Pachacutec then dedicated himself to the rebuilding of Cuzco and the surrounding areas. One of his first tasks was to rebuild the palace and

³²⁸ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 41.

town of Pisac. Soon after, he conquered the region of Picchu and ordered the palace of Machu Picchu to be built, and Rostworowski has argued that this is attributed to Pachacutec by Luis Miguel Glave, María Isabel Remy and John H Rowe.³²⁹ Pachacutec and his brother Inca Roca then defeated the Amaybamba in whose valley he built the palace of Guaman Marca.

Having consolidated the Cuzco region, Pachacutec now ventured further afield, defeating the Soras and the Lucanas. Once again, he gathered his armies and went to war against the people of the Collao region who were led by the indomitable *curaca* Chuchi Cápac of the Hatun Colla. Having defeated him, they took over the lands of the Hatun Colla, which included the jungle region that produced the valuable coca leaf, and the coastal lands where maize, chilli and salted fish came from. Pachacutec then returned to Cuzco and concentrated on rebuilding it.

One of the major tasks attributed to Pachacutec is the rebuilding of Cuzco City, and to do this, he ordered the complete evacuation of Cuzco. We are told that Pachacutec himself supervised the reconstruction of this great city, participating in the measurement of streets and squares, rebuilding palaces of the old *panacas* and relocating its population according to their rank of importance. He made sure that those close to him benefited more than others. He went as far as preventing part of the population from returning to Cuzco and relocated them elsewhere. He re-canalised the rivers and constructed sewers and pipes to

³²⁹ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 42.

canalise the waters during the rainy season. He brought people from all parts of the empire to lapidate the stones, carve wood, and make adobe bricks. The squares, in which social and religious functions were performed, were enormous and built in a trapezoidal form. The rites of reciprocity were realized in the square of Aucaypata, which was also the place where the royal ayllus got together to eat, drink and make merry during their religious ceremonies. This was also the square in which they celebrated their victories when they would throw all the booty collected on the ground and make their prisoners lie on the floor so that their Inca could walk over them.

Sarmiento states that when Pachacutec started the reconstruction of Cuzco he had no time to carry out conquests.³³⁰ Since his children were too young, he entrusted the expansion of the empire to his brothers; one of these, we are told, was Capac Yupanqui. This Capac Yupanqui is mentioned by the people from Chincha, whom when asked who had conquered them, replied that it was Capac Yupanqui, and when further questioned as to when this occurred they replied that it was during the time of Pachacutec. However, memory is only reliable to three generations and anything earlier than that might have changed during the memorialisation process. So were the people from Chincha, referring to the Capac Yupanqui of the Hurin period? Pachacutec ordered his brother, Capac Yupanqui, to go to what is today known as the south coast of Perú. When he arrived in Chincha, instead of conquering the Chincha people he showered them with gifts and asked

³³⁰ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 42.

them to accept Pachacutec as their Inca. The Chinchanos readily accepted his propositions along with the conditions that he imposed. The prosperity of these sea people resulted from the trade they did throughout the coast. They travelled on rafts as far as the northern coast of South America reaching the coast of Ecuador and the Island of Puna. They also traded with the Andean people exchanging coastal goods for cameloids and other wares.³³¹

On his second outing, Pachacutec once again sent his brother to conquer the northern area of the Andes, which became known as the Chinchaysuyu region. Near Guamanga, the Parcos people took refuge in the fortress of Urco Collac. Resisting the Inca's attempt to subjugate them, the Chancas, who by now were fighting on the side of the Incas, under the command of Anco Ayllu, attacked and seized the fortress. This news enraged Pachacutec as he felt that they were diminishing the efforts of the Incas and he sent orders that they should be killed. However, a sister of Anco Ayllu (the Chancas' leader) who was a concubine of one of Pachacutec's generals overheard the orders and advised her brother accordingly. That night, Anco Ayllu crept out of the Inca encampment and headed towards the jungle. Capac Yupanqui, realising this, followed, but could not find the Chanca general and his troops. Capac Yupanqui then continued with his conquest arriving in Cajamarca, beyond the lands that Pachacutec had ordered him to conquer. This region was governed by Gusmango Capac who, when hearing that the Incas were coming, made an alliance with the Chimú in order to contain the Inca advance.

³³¹ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 43.

However, Capac Yupanqui defeated the alliance and collected a huge booty, which was taken to Cuzco. However, emissaries of Pachacutec met and arrested him in Limatambo. Eventually he was condemned to death for allowing the Chancas to escape. According to Inca tradition his victories would have meant that he was a danger to Pachacutec as he could have challenged for the position of Inca.³³²

Amaro Topacna Tupac Yupanqui, the eleventh Inca King (2nd 'lost' Inca)

In this section I shall be arguing that there were more Inca kings than those provided in the official version of the Inca list, originally drawn up by Sarmiento and replicated by Cabello de Balboa in the colonial period and subsequently used by modern-day ethno-historians such as Rowe and Rostworowski. My hypothesis is that the Sarmiento-Cabello de Balboa-Rowe-Rostworowski genealogy was flawed in some of its intrinsic presuppositions.

In the chronicles there is some evidence to suggest that there were more Incas than those mentioned on the official list. Many facts or events were purposely omitted from their narratives, songs, paintings or *kipus* if it offended or was seen as negative by the new Inca lord. The Inca historians even went to the extreme of eradicating the memory of Inca lords who had previously reigned, and they re-arranged events that took place during their respective reigns to please the incoming monarch. Silence and omission were used by the *quipumayocs* as a means of

³³² Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 42.

changing history to please the new Inca lord. As Cieza de León mentions in his chronicle:

They were only allowed to create songs about the kings who had not lost a province which they had inherited, who had not been vile nor timid and if between the kings one was remiss, coward, given to vices and one that was friendly with laziness without increasing the size of his empire, they ordered that of these there was none or very little memory.
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It was only the members of *panacas* or *ayllus* who were affected by such an order and who secretly kept track of the deeds achieved by their lords. However, this caused much confusion among the Spanish chroniclers when gathering information from the different *kipucamayocs*. It led to the omission of several Incas who are independently mentioned by some chroniclers.

Pärsinnen, in his study *Tawantinsuyu*, mentions several other Incas, which were included in the work of chroniclers such as Cieza, Sarmiento and Betanzos. However, he argues that they were not Inca emperors but contemporary to Pachacutec. Two of them, Guaina Inca and Amaro Topa, as Pärsinnen points out, were only mentioned by Pedro Pizarro as real Inca kings.³³⁴ Furthermore,

³³³ Pedro Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú*, ed. Francesca Cantú (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1986); this quotation translated by Martti Pärsinen in *Tawantinsuyu, The Inca State and its Political Organization* (Helsinki: SHS, 1992), p. 77.

³³⁴ Pärsinen, p. 77.

Pärssinen argues that Capac Yupanqui was a general of Pachacutec, or Inca Yupanqui as he was also known, an idea that has also been debated by María Rostworowski and other ethno-historians and each agreed with Pärssinen's conclusion.³³⁵ Further information about this particular Inca can be found in 'Relaciones Geográficas de Indias' and in 'Informaciones de Toledo' where it says that Jauja, Vilca, Chíncha and Pisco were conquered by Capac Yupanqui. This is further confirmed by the Quipocamayos.³³⁶ Cieza, Pachacuti Yamqui, Garcilaso and Guaman Poma, Murúa even states that he went as far as Pachacamac.³³⁷ Pärssinen, however, concludes that the information given by the local sources, such as the Chinchanos, agrees with what was said in the chronicles, but maintains that this conquest happened just before the reign of Topa Inca – hence he attributes the conquests to Pachacutec.³³⁸

Franklin Pease, María Rostworowski and John Rowe all independently concur that Tupac Yupanqui or Topa Inca, as he was also known, was the son of Inca Yupanqui (Pachacutec). However, Cieza de León in *El Señorío de los Incas* writes in about 1551 that they were 'tan modernos que está el reyno lleno de yndios que conocieron a Tupac Yupanqui y que sus padres oyeron de Inca Yupanqui',³³⁹ which I translate to read as follows 'that they were so

³³⁵ Pärssinen, p.77.

³³⁶ Pärssinen, p. 81.

³³⁷ Pärssinen, p. 81.

³³⁸ Pärssinen, p. 81.

³³⁹ Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas*, p. 71.

modern that this kingdom is full of Indians that knew Tupac Yupanqui and that their parents had heard of Inca Yupanqui'. My interpretation of this phrase is that it implies that there existed in this kingdom people who were old enough to have known Tupac Yupanqui and that their parents had heard of Pachacutec but had not been contemporary to him – hence, Pachacutec could not have been the father of Tupac Yupanqui but was most probably his grandfather or even an earlier ancestor. It is also possible that someone else had been the father of Tupac Yupanqui and that that individual had been a legitimate Inca whose feats had subsequently been excised from the official record.

It is likely that there had been at least one Inca between Pachacutec and Tupac Yupanqui. Amaru Yupanqui is mentioned by María Rostworowski in *Ensayos de historia andina* (p. 35) as being given the *mascaypacha* (symbol of the Inca) by Pachacutec. Late in his description of Pachacutec's life, Betanzos introduces his children. However, this is where the problems begin. As previously stated in the chapter on Betanzos, he appears not to have understood what he was told by his in-laws' relatives, for he mentions that the *Colla* (a principal wife of the Inca) had two children. One was Yamque Yupanqui, who was the eldest son and Tupac Inca Yupanqui was her second son. However, further on he says that Pachacutec had three children with his *Colla*, Yamqui Yupanqui, who has already been mentioned, Amaro Topa, and Paucar Usno. Tupac Inca Yupanqui is not mentioned as one of the children.

Kerstin Nowack³⁴⁰ suggests that if Tupac Inca Yupanqui was one of his children, then he must have been a lot younger than Yamque Yupanqui. There is also the possibility that Tupac Yupanqui was not one of Pachacutec's children, but rather his grand-child.

Agustín de Zárate, in his unadulterated version chronicle *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú, con las cosas naturales que señaladamente allí se hallan y los sucesos que a audio*, suggests:

Estos yngas començaron a poblar la ciudad del Cuzco, y desde alli fueron sojulgando toda la tierra y la hicieron tributaria sucediendo por línea derecha de hijos el imperio, como quiera que entre los naturales no suceden los hijos, sino primero el hermano del muerto siguiente en edad, y después de aquel fallecido torna el señorío al hijo mayor de su hermano, y assí dende en adelante hereda el hermano déste; y después torna a su hijo, sin que jamás falte este género de sucesión.³⁴¹

It is important to point out here that Zárate is of the view that the Inca Empire expanded gradually over an extended period of time, as suggested by the wording of his statement quoted above. This version, however, was

³⁴⁰ Kerstin Nowack, *Las intenciones del autor: Juan de Betanzos y la Suma y narración de los Incas* ([http: www.historia](http://www.historia) 2000).

³⁴¹ Agustín de Zárate, *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista del Perú* (Antwerp: Martín Nucio Amberes, 1955), Book I, Chapter XIII, p. 23.

corrected in the second edition, as a result of the influence of Viceroy Toledo who took it upon himself to modify the conception of Inca history that had been constructed up until his arrival in the New World. As Duviols clarifies, the second edition reads as follows:³⁴²

Estos Yngas comenzaron a poblar la ciudad del Cuzco, y desde allí fueron sojuzgando toda la tierra y la hicieron tributaria, y de ahí adelante iban sucediendo en este señorío el que más poder y fuerzas tenía, sin guardar orden legítima de sucesión, sino por tiranía y violencia; de manera que su derecho estaba en las armas.³⁴³

A number of chroniclers – including Cieza de León and Pizarro – have suggested that there were more Incas than those on the list, and have inferred that Amaro Topa and Yamque Yupanqui once held the *mascaypacha*. If these individuals were included in the list of Inca kings, an alternative list of Hanan rulers in Cuzco could be proposed as follows:

Viracocha

Urco (1st 'lost' Inca)

Pachacutec

³⁴² Pierre Duviols, 'La Historia del descubrimiento y de la conquista del Perú de Agustín de Zárate', *remaniée conformément aux vues historico-politiques du Vice-Roi Toledo* (Paris: Annales de la Faculté des Lettres, 1964), d'Aix XXXVIII, p. 153.

³⁴³ Agustín de Zárate, (1577) *Historia...* 2^a Ed. Alonso Escribano, Sevilla, Book 1, Chapter .X.

Amaro Topa (2nd 'lost' Inca)

Yamque Yupanqui (3rd 'lost' Inca)

Tupac Inca Yupanqui

Huayna Capac

The existence of additional Inca kings may be explained as follows; according to Betanzos's chronicle, the elder children of Pachacutec had been military leaders and they were sent to conquer the meridian part of the Inca Empire. He argues that Amaro Topa and Paucar Usno were sent to conquer the *Altiplano*, which is now part of Bolivia. During this conquest Paucar Usno was killed.³⁴⁴ Amaro Topa is only mentioned as going to conquer the *Altiplano* region by Betanzos. Sarmiento de Gamboa, however, also mentions him as being one of the military leaders who went with Paucar Usno to conquer the *Altiplano*. Sarmiento also records that another of Pachacutec's children was called Apo Yanqui Yupanqui (probably Yamque Yupanqui), one of the secondary military leaders who went to conquer the north. Rather curiously, after this single allusion, Sarmiento does not mention this son again and, as a result, Amaro Topa is described as the eldest and most loved son of Pachacutec, and therefore assigned to become his legitimate successor.³⁴⁵ To complicate things still further, Sarmiento later states that Pachacutec subsequently changed his mind

³⁴⁴ Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los incas*, Part I, Chapter xxiii, pp. 119-21.

³⁴⁵ Sarmiento, *Segunda parte de la historia llamada Indica*. Chapter 37, p. 77; Chapter 42, p. 84; Chapter 43, pp. 85-86; and in 'y su argumentación final sobre la ilegitimidad de la dinastía Inca', Chapter 69, p. 127.

and appointed Tupac Yupanqui as his successor, forcing Amaro Topa to recognise Tupac Yupanqui as the next Inca.

Some chroniclers provide a slightly different version of these events. Thus Bartolomé de las Casas, in the chapters which concern Peru in his chronicle *Apologética historia* (1555/1559), suggests that Amaro Topa was initially chosen as the successor to Pachacutec and that he co-reigned with Pachacutec for a period of time. As a result of a military campaign in the Collao region, however, led by Amaro Topa which went disastrously wrong, Pachacutec decided to appoint Tupac Yupanqui instead.³⁴⁶

Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua also mentions Amaro Topa when describing the dramatic events which preceded the official succession of Pachacutec.³⁴⁷ In his account, Amaro Topa is described as the eldest son of Pachacutec. His father offered to renounce his Incaship in Amaro Topa's favour, but the latter rejected this offer and suggested that his brother Tupac Yupanqui (Topa Ynga) should be named in his place. In a different passage of his account Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamque Salcamaygua describes how the three men appeared in public each of them wearing the symbol of power and the symbols representing the differences in rank – with Amaro Topa being the least in rank.

³⁴⁶ Bartolomé de las Casas, *Apologética historia*, Chapter 25, pp. 135-43.

³⁴⁷ Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua (1613?), *Relación de Antigüedades deste Reyno del Perú* (Lima: Colección de libros y documentos referentes a la Historia del Perú, 1927), f. 21r, p.223; f. 21v, p. 224, f.23v, p. 228, f.25v-26r, pp. 232-233.

There are two other sources which indicate that Amaro Topa had been an Inca. One of them is from Bernabé Cobo's chronicle.³⁴⁸ When describing the Huacas of Cuzco, Cobo states that only Inca rulers and their wives had the right to have these sacred places associated with them. There appears to have been an exception and that is the Huaca dedicated to Amaro Topa and his wife Curi Ocllo, and John H Rowe verifies this. This implies that Amaro Topa probably was an Inca or held an exceptional position so as to be the only non-Inca to be awarded this privilege.

One other document that ought to be mentioned which casts a different light on these events. In a *probanza* submitted by Tupac Yupanqui's heirs in 1569, the members of his *panaca* sue for compensation as a result of material loss incurred during the Inca civil war – many of their properties had been damaged or destroyed, and the members of their *panaca* had been executed by Atahualpa's generals.³⁴⁹ In the *probanza*, Tupac Yupanqui's descendants claimed that Amaro Topa had been the head of Capac Aylo's *panaca*. They argued that this arrangement violated the rules that formed the groups of descendants, as neither the children of an Inca nor his brothers could be included in his *panaca*, but rather in the *panaca* of their mother, the *Colla*, as occurred when two half-brothers belonged to different *panacas*, e.g. Pachacutec and Urcos, and Atahualpa and Huascar. It is probable that at some unidentifiable point in the past Amaro Topa's *panaca* had been eradicated, as would have occurred with Tupac Yupanqui's *panaca* had

³⁴⁸ Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, p. 225, 228, 230.

³⁴⁹ He is called Topa Ynga in *Prouança de los Yngas...* (1569), p. 222.

the Spanish not arrived; hence their descendants were tied to the *panaca* of Capac Aylo (Tupac Yupanqui).

Yamque Yupanqui, the twelfth Inca King (3rd 'lost' Inca)

Betanzos records that Yamque Yupanqui was Pachacutec's favourite as well as his eldest son. Betanzos provides some further information about this favouritism; Pachacutec sent Yamque Yupanqui to conquer the north and that Pachacutec, very pleased by the results of the campaign, promised to make Yamque Yupanqui his heir upon Yamque Yupanqui's return. Subsequently Pachacutec sent Yamque Yupanqui on his second campaign, but this time he asked him to be accompanied by his younger brother, Tupac Yupanqui, in order to show his younger brother how to execute a successful military campaign. During this campaign they reached Ecuador and defeated the Cañaris. Upon Yamque Yupanqui's return – as Betanzos suggests – Pachacutec received Yamque Yupanqui with great rejoicing and went as far as to remove the *mascaypacha* from his own head and placed it on the head of Yamque Yupanqui. Betanzos interprets this act to mean that Pachacutec was effectively nominating Yamque Yupanqui as his co-regent; this is clear because Betanzos included Yamque Yupanqui in the list of Incas drawn up at the beginning of his chronicle.³⁵⁰

Betanzos also describes how Yamque Yupanqui became more involved in the affairs and administration of the state. In their third northern campaign, Yamque Yupanqui and Tupac Yupanqui reached and conquered

³⁵⁰ Betanzos, *Suma y narración de los incas*, p. 5.

Quito. Upon Yamque Yupanqui's return – according to Betanzos's account – Pachacutec told Yamque Yupanqui that he expected to die soon and that he feared that the provinces would rebel once they heard news of his death; in order to avoid an outcome of this kind, he advised that Yamque Yupanqui should take over the government. Yamque Yupanqui told Pachacutec that he felt that he was too old for this position and that the military campaigns had taken a toll on him. He proposed, therefore, that his younger brother, Tupac Yupanqui, should inherit the realm. Yamque Yupanqui then publicly took the *mascaypacha* from his head and placed it over Tupac Yupanqui's head, therefore conveying to all the message that Tupac Yupanqui was to be the next Inca. This is the main thrust of Betanzos's account. Cieza de León offers a slightly different version of this sequence of events. He records that, upon Pachacutec's death Yamque Yupanqui co-reigned with Tupac Yupanqui, busying himself with administrative duties whilst Tupac Yupanqui was away conquering.³⁵¹

This co-regency period described by Cieza and Betanzos leaves us with a dilemma: who was the principal regent of the co-regency held between Pachacutec and Yamque Yupanqui? And who occupied the major role in the co-regency held between Yamque Yupanqui and Tupac Yupanqui? Some accounts suggest that, during the final years of Pachacutec's reign, the co-regency with Yamque Yupanqui was not of equal status and the senior co-regent was Pachacutec, whereas in the co-regency with Tupac Yupanqui, Yamque Yupanqui remained as the junior co-

³⁵¹ Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas*, p. 72.

regent. Betanzos suggests that Tupac Yupanqui was a young man and therefore Pachacutec had asked Yamque Yupanqui to supervise his younger brother. According to Betanzos's account, Tupac Yupanqui was already thirty years old when he became Inca and was, thus, very capable of governing the empire. We know from Betanzos that Pachacutec lived well into his eighties and, if this is the case, he is likely to have fathered Topa Inca when he was in his fifties. But it would have been unlikely for the *colla* to have given birth to Topa Inca since, even if she was much younger than Pachacutec, she would have been – at the oldest – in her early forties when she had Topa Inca.

The above sequence of events suggests that Yamque Yupanqui was an Inca who co-reigned with Pachacutec. Pachacutec, like his father Viracocha, retired from the throne before his death and handed over the Inca kingdom at an appropriate juncture to Amaro Topa who died prematurely – it is not known whether he was killed or whether he died of natural causes – and, at this point, the *mascaypacha* was handed over to Yamque Yupanqui, who then passed it on to his nephew Tupac Yupanqui. Yamque Yupanqui must have considered his own son as inappropriate for the position, though Betanzos suggests that it was because he was too young. The *panacas* of Amaro Topa and Yamque Yupanqui must have existed since, in Amaro Topa's case, there is a *huaca* in Cuzco dedicated to him and his wife, a privilege only extended to Inca rulers. Amaro Topa and Yamque Yupanqui were, however, at some point excised from the official list of Inca kings; they may have died in one of the many civil wars which plagued the country at the time and/or were removed from the list

because they have lost lands conquered by their ancestors, or had a flaw in their characters (i.e. they were given to laziness or drunkenness).

As for Pachacutec, Betanzos records that he lived a long time and, thus, probably knew his grandson/ great grandson, Tupac Yupanqui, hence, the association with him. However, it should be noted that Betanzos contradicts himself when he says at one point that Tupac Yupanqui had been the son of Pachacutec and then, further on, omits him from the list of Pachacutec's children. Both of these statements cannot simultaneously be true. The fact that Cieza says that 'there are people alive in this kingdom that knew and fought on the side of Tupac Yupanqui and their fathers had heard about Pachacutec'³⁵² seems to indicate that there was a substantial generational distance between Pachacutec and Tupac Yupanqui. Pachacutec was probably Tupac Yupanqui's grandfather or even his great-grandfather.

Inca Tupac Yupanqui, also known as Topa Inca Yupanqui, the thirteenth Inca King

Tupac Yupanqui was the youngest son of Pachacutec, according to the most common version of events. However, as we shall see, a number of chroniclers – including Cieza de León and Betanzos – imply that this cannot have been the case. During this time he had become a young man and therefore sent to the conquests, such as Chile to start with, under the command and protection of his eldest brother Yamque Yupanqui and after as leading general. In early Inca history wars only happened after the

³⁵² Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas*, p. 71.

crops were picked and when the troops marched off to conquer new lands, since their women would customarily travel with them in order to prepare food for them and tend to their wounds sustained in battle. As the empire expanded, these practices could no longer be continued. As part of the reciprocity agreement every *curaca* had to send a quota of men which would join the Inca army. These *mitas* (conscriptions) formed armies that were sent to far distant lands such as Charcas, Argentina, Chile and Ecuador. Tupac Yupanqui organised his armies into squadrons of men who had the same type of weaponry and their captains belonged to their ethnic group. Soldiers dressed according to the custom of dress of their people. The above suggests that Yamque Yupanqui became an Inca king after Pachacutec. If this is the case this has significant implications for the chronology of the Incas which has been accepted to date.

Rostworowski has argued that one of Tupac Yupanqui's first conquests was that of the Chincha people; he is recorded as arriving in the Chincha territories and demanding more lands to be given to the Inca and more edifices to be built for religious and civic administration.³⁵³ Capac Yupanqui had already established a system of reciprocity with the Chinchanos, he had built an *Aclla Huasi* with its total of *mamaconas* who made textiles and *chicha de jora* as well as a house called *Hatun Cancha* for the Inca administration. The Chincha *curacas* readily accepted his terms for, had they resisted, it would have certainly meant war whose consequences they could ill afford to risk. Rostworowski suggests that it is for this reason that few Inca

³⁵³ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 43.

buildings and fortresses are seen in these regions, which were conquered peacefully, whereas a strong Inca presence is seen in places that refused to surrender peacefully, such as Jauja. (Tupac Yupanqui also conquered the Guarco people who initially refused to submit and, though heavily defended by several fortresses, were beaten and forced to surrender to superior Inca forces.) Tupac Yupanqui then headed north to consolidate the region of Chinchaysuyu, so he travelled through Vilcashuamán, Jauja, Huaylas, Cajamarca and then he ventured into the lands of the Chachapoyas eventually meeting resistance from the Cañaris who had allied themselves with the Quito people. After defeating them he ordered that *mitimaes* (settlers) should be brought to that region. Before leaving Tupac Yupanqui named Chalco Mayta, an elderly statesman, as governor, telling him to send news of Quito via the *chasqui* service every month. He arrived in Surampali where he ordered the building of a city, which he named as Tumibamba, a place which he used as an outpost from which to attack and subjugate the neighbouring tribes. It was here that he would spend many years whilst subjecting the surrounding ethnias. Sarmiento de Gamboa records that, while he was there, Tupac Yupanqui also went to Manta and met several merchants who had just arrived back from a visit to some islands they called Auachumbi and Nina Chumbi; the Inca enthusiastically took an army and sailed to these islands spending some nine months sailing around the Pacific Ocean.³⁵⁴ On his way back to Cuzco he chose the coastal route passing through Catacaos, Pacatnamú and Chimú visiting the diverse towns and cities

³⁵⁴ Sarmiento, *Segunda parte*, p. 90.

that formed the empire until he arrived in Pachacamac. He then proceeded up the Andes through Pariacaca and Jauja.

Tupac Yupanqui's return to his homeland was greatly celebrated by Pachacutec and the people, as never before had so many prisoners and such plentiful spoils of war been brought back to Cuzco. Rostworowski states that during the celebrations mock and ritual battles took place and that in one of these the young prince Huayna Capac, who at the time was only five years of age, was in charge of an army and took the fortress of Sacsayhuaman before the entire Cuzco population including the three Incas, Pachacutec, Amaro Tupac and Tupac Yupanqui.³⁵⁵ By now Pachacutec was an elderly man and close to death, with his health failing. Sarmiento de Gamboa suggests that he called his children and the royal *panacas* to prepare them for his imminent death.³⁵⁶ He had a special piece of advice for his son, Tupac Yupanqui:

‘Hijo, ya ves las luchas y grandes naciones que te dejo y sabes cuanto trabajo me han costado. Nadie alce los ojos contra ti que viva, aunque sean tus hermanos. A estos deudos te dejo por padres, para que te aconsejen. Mira por ellos y que ellos te sirvan. Cuando yo sea muerto, curarás de mi cuerpo y ponerlo has en mis casas de Patallacta. Harás mi bulto de oro en la casa del Sol y en todas las provincias a mí sujetas

³⁵⁵ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 43.

³⁵⁶ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 44.

harás los sacrificios solemnes y al fin de la
fiesta de Purucaya para que vaya a descansar
con mi padre el sol.³⁵⁷

Pachacutec died soon afterwards and Tupac Yupanqui followed his father's instructions and became the next emperor of the Inca Empire. Once again Tupac Yupanqui received the emblems of power and in the main square he sat on the *Ushnu* (golden throne) to receive the *mascaypacha* and to be paid homage by the elite of Cuzco. Every dignitary would approach the Inca, shoeless and with his hair tied back, and would greet him in a humble manner, at which point he would then present the Inca king with his gift. The event would be accompanied by several animal and human sacrifices of children and young virgins, and priests would consult the oracles to discover if the government of the incoming Inca would be favourable and prosperous. The juncture of succession was a time when the Incas looked forwards but it was also a time when they looked backwards, reviewing the past and – as Cieza de León reminds us – changing the historical record in order to produce a narrative shape which was more flattering to the current regent.

One of Tupac Yupanqui's first actions was to order a general visit from Chile and Argentina to Ecuador, which was carried out by the *kipucamayocs* and the royal elite so as to impose the will of Cuzco upon the subjected ethnic groups.³⁵⁸ He organised the population in groups of ten,

³⁵⁷ Sarmiento, *Segunda parte*, p. 95.

³⁵⁸ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 44.

which they called a *chunga*, in cohorts of one hundred, called a *pachaca*, and of one thousand men, called a *guaranga*, as recorded in the *kipus*. During his reign one of the closest persons to Tupac Yupanqui was his brother, Topa Capac, and for this reason Tupac Yupanqui showered him with honours, gifts and lands. Topa Capac, however, was very ambitious and wanted to depose his brother. Thus he hatched a plot to rebel against his brother. The plot was soon discovered by Tupac Yupanqui who, after ordering an inquiry, came to the conclusion that this was true. Tupac Yupanqui ordered the arrest of Topa Capac and all his co-conspirators and had them all summarily executed. Tupac Yupanqui subsequently left Cuzco and went to a place called Yanayacu (Black Water) to find out the number of guilty people involved and ordered the death of a large part of the population; his *colla* (wife of the Inca) pleaded for mercy on their behalf and Tupac Yupanqui spared their lives but reduced them to the social status of *yanaconas* (servants).

Tupac Yupanqui is reputed to have built the fortress of Sacsayhuaman, but this is unlikely given the size of the fortress. A monument of this kind is likely to have taken two or three reigns to be completed, as was, indeed, customary for the Incas' building projects. Rostworowski argues that it was Viracocha who had built Sacsahuaman. While he was in his palace of Chinchero death came to him, and a number of contemporary accounts point to a jealous concubine, who wanted her son to be his heir, who poisoned him. Originally he named Huayna Capac as his heir, but later named another son called Capac Guari, son of Chuqui Ocllo, as his successor. Guaman Achachi, Tupac Yupanqui's brother,

thought that Capac Guari was not the best choice and prepared the way for his nephew, Huayna Capac, as Tupac Yupanqui's successor. According to Sarmiento de Gamboa Guaman Achcachi gathered some warriors and captured Capac Guari in order to imprison him in Chincheros. The concubine, Chuqui Ocllo, was not so lucky; she was summarily executed.

Huayna Capac, or Guayna Capac, the fourteenth Inca King

Huayna Capac was the last of the Incas before the Spanish arrival in 1532, and Rostworowski suggests that he probably died from one of the diseases brought by the Spanish to the New World.³⁵⁹ After the death of his father Tupac Yupanqui, Huayna Capac had his half-brother Capac Guari arrested, and preparations were made for the ceremonies to hand over the *mascaypacha* to Huayna Capac. It was an Inca tradition that the incoming monarch should select his *colla* from among the many princesses of the Inca Empire at the time he was about to ascend to the throne and, although it did not necessarily have to be his sister, this had become customary as a result of Pachacutec and Tupac Yupanqui choosing to marry their half-sisters. According to Garcilaso de la Vega Cuzco was adorned with great care, the straw roofs were covered with blankets made of the multi-coloured feathers of jungle birds, and the walls were laminated in gold.³⁶⁰ Huayna Capac married his half-sister, the princess Cusi Rimay, following Inca custom, and the

³⁵⁹ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 45.

³⁶⁰ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 46.

ceremony was accompanied by fasting as well as haruspication performed by the priests. Subsequently Huayna Capac sent his uncle, Guaman Achachi to visit the northern border while he went to the south to secure the southern territories of Charcas, Cochabamba, Pocona, Coquimbo and Copiapó. He was forced to return, however, when news came of rebellion in the northern territories (specifically the peoples of Quito, Pastos and Huancavelica). In the northern expedition Huayna Capac initially lost many men and he ordered another *mita* to replace the soldiers already lost in the wars.³⁶¹ When the generals arrived with the troops Huayna Capac had ordered, they were not compensated appropriately and, offended by the Inca's attitude, they decided to return to Cuzco leaving the Inca to manage without them. Huayna Capac sent messengers with gifts that pleased his generals and they returned to do battle with the peoples in the north of Ecuador. Huayna Capac managed to subdue these people, but during this time his eldest son caught an unknown disease and died; then Huayna Capac caught the same disease and died leaving the empire without a declared heir.³⁶² Hence the war for

³⁶¹ Rostworowski, *Temática del Perú*, p. 47.

³⁶² Cieza de Leon has the following account: 'Y como se sintió tocado de la enfermedad, mandó se hicieran grandes sacrificios por su salud en toda la tierra y por todas la guacas y templos del Sol; mas yéndole agraviado, llamó a sus capitanes y paarientes y les habló algunas cosas, entres las cuales les dijo, a lo que algunos de ellos dicen, que el sabía que la gente que había visto en el navío volvería con potencia grande y que ganaría la tierra. (...) Y como esto hubo hecho, murió'; *El Señorío de los Incas*, in *Crónica del Perú. El Señorío de los Incas*, ed. Franklin Pease G.Y. (Caracas: Ayacucho, 2005), pp. 301-459 (pp. 448-49).

succession began between Huascar and Atahualpa, which the Spanish encountered when they arrived.

Huascar, the fifteenth Inca King

Cieza de León provides a positive view of Huascar when he came to power, and describes his ascendance to the throne in the following terms:

It became known throughout all the kingdom of Peru that Huascar was the Inca, and as such he ruled and had his guard and sent out Orejones to the capital of the provinces to take the needed measures. He was of such good intelligence and so cherished his people that, during the time he reigned , he was greatly beloved by all.³⁶³

His half-brother Atahualpa, however, waged a bitter war on this brother.

Atahualpa, the sixteenth and last Inca King

Atahualpa is presented by Cieza de León as a cruel and bloodthirsty soldier. His first main battle was with Huascar's commander, Atoco. He routed the latter's army and, as Cieza de León suggests, 'those who have informed me concerning this say that he was tied to a post and secretly put to death with great cruelty, and from his skull Calicuchima made himself a drinking bowl, set in gold'.³⁶⁴

³⁶³ *The Incas of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, trans. Harriet de Onis, ed. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), *Parte primera de la Chronica del Perú*, chapter 22, p. 81.

³⁶⁴ *The Incas of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, p. 84.

The Canari that he subsequently met came in peace, 'but it made little impression on cruel Atahualpa, for it is told that he ordered his men to kill all those who had come to meet him, and it was done'.³⁶⁵ Atahualpa eventually defeated his brother, Huascar, and enacted revenge upon him and upon his kith and kin with a great deal of cruelty, as Bernabé de Cobo suggests: 'Atahualpa's captains had Huascar taken out of jail where he was kept so he could witness a cruel spectacle; all of his brothers and sisters, children and kinsmen who had been captured, along with all the Inca's house servants were put to death in his presence'.³⁶⁶ Little did Atahualpa know, however, that his days were also numbered in that his victory over his half-brother, Huascar, occurred in the shadow of a much more powerful adversary, the Spanish conquistador, Francisco Pizarro. As Cobo relates:

'Not long after the death of Huascar, the Spaniards garrotted Atahualpa in the town of Cajamarca'.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ *The Incas of Pedro de Cieza de Leon*, p. 86.

³⁶⁶ Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, p. 169.

³⁶⁷ Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, p. 172.

Preliminary conclusions

There are a number of conclusions which need to be drawn about the 'lost' Incas. Though necessarily speculative at this stage, there are a sufficient number of independent pieces of evidence which allow us to conclude that there is a high probability that a number of Inca kings did exist apart from the canonized list of twelve. I have discussed above the evidence which points to the probability that there were three extra Incas, namely, Urco, Amaro Topac and Yamque Yupanqui. This allows us to make some further calculations about the length of the Inca reigns. We know from Cieza, Sarmiento and Betanzos, for example, that Huayna Capac died of an unknown disease whilst campaigning in the north of Tawantinsuyu and that Atahualpa, his youngest son, was approximately thirty when captured by the Spanish. Even as a third child that would put his father Huayna Capac in his fifties which would indicate, after a rough calculation, that Huayna Capac took power in his teens; logically his father Tupac Yupanqui must have died in his fifties and therefore could not have reigned for twenty-two years, as we find in the work of chroniclers such as Cieza and Betanzos. We have seen that Rowe's calculations are contentious in that they are based on the idea that all of the Incas reigned for 30 years or more. I have suggested above that Rowe's hypothesis implies that Inca genealogy worked like clockwork and this has an air of inverisimilitude about it. The addition of three extra Inca kings to the list allows us to posit a more credible version of the genealogy of the Incas.

As I have shown earlier on, Rowe assumed that the fathers of the indigenous people contemporary to the conquistadors had known Pachacutec; hence, his subsequent

conclusions can be treated sceptically. It is valuable here to refer back to Cieza de León's testimony of Inca chronicles when he suggests that the Inca peoples were only 'allowed' to commemorate those who had 'not lost a province which they inherited'. Rowe, for his part, has argued the following with regard to the last three reigns:

We can probably assume that the life of Inca war veterans was not longer than that of veterans of our own Civil War, and there are a few Civil War veterans surviving after nearly eighty years. Eighty years before 1551 is 1471, which is the year in which Cabello dates Pachacuti's abdication. This sort of argument must not be carried too far, but Cieza's statement adds probability to Cabello's dates. Cabello Balboa was remarkably learned and able, and it is possible that his information on the matter of these three reigns was entirely accurate, but I would prefer to accept his dates as approximate. Cabello was certainly in a better position to make guesses than any modern scholar of the period.³⁶⁸

Rowe argues – sensibly in my view – about the life span of human beings. However, he credits Cabello de Balboa as being a learned person, and we know from Rowe and other scholars such as Porras Barrenechea and

³⁶⁸ John H. Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, p. 58.

Rostworowski that Cabello plagiarized extensively from Sarmiento. But let us continue with Rowe's argument:

The Incas conquered the whole Andean area, and remains of their occupation occur usually over the tops of the older sites everywhere. Hence, the date of the Inca conquest of any given area is important, for it may serve as a fixed terminus for estimates of the dates of earlier cultures and pottery styles. The most widely used set of dates for earlier times is the one which Means worked out by this reasoning, calculated from an assumed date of 1200 for the Inca conquest of the lake Titicaca district in which Tiahuanaco stands. I believe that this date is about two hundred and fifty years too early.³⁶⁹

Rowe at that time might not have known that the Incas had moved entire populations from the top of mountains down to the valleys or even forced the ethnic groups to migrate *mitimaes* (people who used to pay tribute by doing labour for the Incas) to other areas. The Incas built entire new towns, *tambos* and garrisons in order to be able to control them better, as was the case of Jauja in the Mantaro valley, Huánuco. It is also important to note that D'Altroy suggests that the *mitimaes* from the region of Jauja were relocated to somewhere in present-day Ecuador, which would have been impossible had the region of Ecuador not been conquered by the Incas before the conquest of Jauja. If

³⁶⁹ John H. Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, p. 58.

one follows present day theories, this could only have happened had there been an insurrection against a reigning Inca. When such insurrections happened, as was often the case, this would suggest that they had been conquered previously by the Incas of a previous generation – the pattern of conquest, followed by rebellion and subsequent ‘pacification’ was a common one during this period.

Pärssinen, Rostworowski, and Pease concur in their view that the people from the Ica region, such as the Chinchas, told the chroniclers that they had been conquered by Capac Yupanqui. According to the official list of the Incas Capac Yupanqui preceded Pachacutec by at least 150 years, if one assumes the list as being a true record of Incas who ruled the empire. However, ethno-historians such as Pärssinen maintain that the Capac Yupanqui referred to by the chroniclers was contemporary to Pachacutec and that Capac Yupanqui was likely to have been one of his sons or brothers. The fact that the Chinchanos did not have any form of writing and relied completely on memory suggests that their statement that Capac Yupanqui was contemporary to Pachacutec was not a reliable one. It is quite possible that the Chinchanos who gave this account were confused as to the dates of Capac Yupanqui and Pachacutec’s respective reigns. In my thesis I argue that the Capac Yupanqui referred to by the Chinchanos and hence by the chroniclers is likely to be the fifth Inca mentioned on the list.

When Rowe states that Garcilaso was the only commentator to argue that it was Viracocha and not Pachacutec who defeated the *Chancas* when they were threatening Cuzco, this is not true, as Bernabé Cobo and Zárate follow the details of the account provided by

Garcilaso de la Vega. However, this difference of opinion was probably due to the fact that Garcilaso belonged to the *panaca* of Tupac Yupanqui, which was the *panaca* of Huascar, who was executed by his half-brother, Atahualpa. Atahualpa, indeed, belonged to the *panaca* of Pachacutec whose members defeated Huascar. Hence it was in Garcilaso's interest to claim that it was Viracocha who defeated the Chancas and not Pachacutec. Because of the alliances during the Inca civil war the *panacas* who sided with the losing side would have been eradicated and their memory erased from Inca history. Therefore, Garcilaso – who was educated by his ancestors – would have been bitter about the *panaca* of Pachacutec and hence he wrote an historical account based on his ancestors' input, in order to settle scores with Atahualpa's *panaca*. Although Garcilaso wrote his history after Toledo's period as Viceroy, he did not adhere to the Viceroy's format, instead choosing to write a 'controversial' indigenous version of events.

We have seen that Toledo was a viceroy who encouraged chroniclers to prove by whatever means available that the Incas had conquered other ethnias in a brutal and rapid manner, enslaving the conquered ethnic groups whilst so doing. This caused Sarmiento and Ondegardo to write pro-Toledan histories and, therefore, those who plagiarised them, as Cabello, subsequently reiterated what had been said during the Toledan epoch. The researcher – when unaware of the degree of plagiarism which occurred during this period – would have assumed that many of the post-Toledan chroniclers had, in their investigations, come to the same conclusions as the Toledan chroniclers. This created a problem for future ethno-

historians, as Pachacutec himself did when he re-organized the city of Cuzco and the remaining *panacas*.

It is clear that a number of the conquests performed by other Incas were accredited to Pachacutec. As we have seen, many Incas had been eradicated from the official list of Inca kings and their conquests and deeds – if, indeed, there were any – would have been absorbed by members of the remaining *panacas* such as Pachacutec. Cieza de León reminds us that if an Inca was remiss, given to laziness, or had lost lands gained by his ancestors, he was eradicated from the official record. If Pachacutec was the ninth Inca ruler and none of the empire had been conquered beforehand, then this statement could not apply to any subsequent Inca, such as Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Capac, who followed Pachacutec and conquered vast amounts of lands. Such a statement would in effect have become superfluous. However, if it did apply then the conquests would logically have begun a lot earlier than suggested by some present-day ethno-historians.

Given the above, it is likely that several Incas have been eradicated from the official list of Incas. It is also likely that Pachacutec was not Tupac Yupanqui's father, but from a previous generation, possibly in the mid- to late-fourteenth century. As we have seen, there is a substantial body of evidence which suggests that the Inca conquest of surrounding territories occurred much earlier than is currently presumed.

Summary conclusion

In this dissertation I have endeavoured to prove that the claim by John Rowe and other ethno-historians that the Incas, both as an ethnic group in the Cuzco region and as an empire, lasted a lot longer than presently thought. The core of my research has focussed on exploring and studying the factors and reasons that underlay this fundamental controversy. I have argued that the resulting discrepancies of interpretation have arisen, in large part, from inconsistencies of approach in the assembly and collation of documents, and the disregard of socio-political and religious contexts in which such 'historic-laden' texts were constructed by and for Inca and /or Spanish colonial officials and clergy.

The major research problem I have addressed in this thesis is the accuracy of the various accounts of the history of the Inca Empire, as provided in the chronicles of Cieza, Betanzos, Ondegardo, as well as period documents such as the *visitas*; the *probanzas* and *pleitos*. I have also taken account of the work of historians such as Markham and Means, along with the scholarship produced by ethno-historians such as Rowe, Rostworowski and Pease, and the results of archaeological excavation as produced by D'Altroy, Salomon, and Kendall.

To address this problem, I have conducted a comparative analysis of the relevant Inca/colonial ethnohistorical documentation, in particular that provided by ethnohistorians such as Rowe, Rostworowski, Murra and Pease. As well as making an independent assessment of the existing role of archaeology as 'text', especially in the cases of Jauja, Chinchá and Pachacamac. I have assessed who

wrote the texts and why, for whom they were written, and who benefited from them. I have assessed the effects that special interest groups might have had in constructing Inca history. I have demonstrated through the use of several documents that power struggles were common within the Inca Empire, most notably upon the death of an Inca, as was the case of Huascar and Atahualpa when the Spanish arrived. The significance of this is suggested, as is that of a widespread eradication of much Inca history due to the incidence of *panacas* backing the losing contender's side. This was particularly relevant in terms of the discussion of Garcilaso de la Vega's chronicle.

To date, historians have been unable to decipher the Inca script contained within the *quipus*. Nonetheless, the discussion and recognition of these writing systems are of central importance to an appreciation of Inca culture in that they demonstrate that theirs was a historic and not a pre-historic society.

Finally, I have attempted to analyse the chronological order of history in the Inca Empire. I have emphasised that the Incas' own historical approach – i.e. that perceived 'importance' or 'significance' rather than chronology *tout court* were the guiding structural principles of their historical records – sometimes gave rise to confusion in the analysis of the historical record. Similarly, I have discussed how many historical events were redistributed by the surviving *panacas* and credited to other Incas. In the fourth part of this thesis, I have looked at other types of evidence by means of a careful analysis of time and space in the Inca culture, with the use of archaeological material and text such as the present-day evidence provided

by archaeologists such as Valencia, Makhovski, Salomon, Kendall, and Bauer. I have had recourse to the interpretation of the past using radiocarbon dating; in the case of the tables provided by Adamska and Michczynski, I have attempted to classify the historical events in Inca history.

The hypothesis I have studied in this thesis is that Inca culture was founded c. 900 AD and began its conquest of the surrounding territories in c. 1200 AD; in the light of this I suggest that the chronological map proposed by John Rowe should be revised in the light of new evidence which has emerged. This thesis is not an attempt to find the meaning of 'true history' but a resource for continuing research on the evolution of the Inca Empire and, in particular, the creation of chronology and genealogy of the Inca dynasty.

Glossary

Aclla Huasi: Place of work and residence of the aallas. In it they made especial products, such as clothes and chicha.

Aallas: Chosen women to serve the God sun and the Inca. They made clothes for the Inca, and items such as clothing made from vicuña wool, which the Inca would give away as an act of reciprocity.

Amauta: Teacher of the children of Inca nobility.

Ayllu: Ethnic peasant community as well as a group which is related.

Ayuscay: Ceremony of the birth of the Inca's first male.

Cancha: Rectangular urban centre surrounded by a stone wall in whose interior there could be several buildings.

Capac raymi: Parties of the rich and Inca nobles.

Colla: Principal wife of the Inca ruler.

Curaca: Ethnic chief in charge of a group of people with jurisdiction over a determined territory.

Cutu: Market.

Chasqui: System of messengers that took messages and other goods to and from Cuzco to all parts of the empire.

Chunga: Group of ten men.

Guancauri: Rainbow.

Guaranga: Group of a thousand men.

Guarachico: Ceremony when they pierced the ears of the Incas' children.

Huaca: Physical manifestation of something sacred, perhaps an idol, a mountain, a stone or a heavenly object.

Haybinto: Weapon, which is made of a stone attached to a rope.

Illapu: God of thunder, lightning and earthquakes.

Inca Llacta: Inca settlement.

Inca Ñan: Inca road. Principal roads of the Tawantinsuyu.

Inti: The sun God.

Inti Huasi: House of the sun God or a temple.

Khipu: System of chords and knots where the Incas recorded statistics and narratives.

Khipucamayoc: Civil servant in charge of writing, reading and keeping the khipus.

Mascaypacha: Symbol which hung of the Inca's forehead. Emblem of power.

Mamacona: Women who lived in the Inti Huasi, dedicated to knitting and making alcoholic beverages for the Inca's pleasure.

Mita: Quota of men sent by conquered athnias to services for the empire, such as the army, road building, and working the lands of the Inca and the Sun.

Mitimaes: Groups of people that were asked or told to settle in different parts of the empire.

Pacarina: Place of origin where the ancestors of an ethnic group are said to have come from, such as caves, river, lakes and the sea.

Pachaca: Group of one hundred men.

Pachaca Camayoc: Chief in charge of a group of one hundred persons.

Panaca: An Inca's clan.³⁷⁰ They were in charge of conserving and paying homage to the Inca's mummy.

Pachamama. The Goddess mother earth.

Pumachupan: Tail of the lion.

Purucaya: Rites of the dead.

Quirochico: Ceremony which celebrates the Inca's daughter's first period.

Quishuarcancha: Area or urban city of the quishuar (fallen tree).

Rutuchico: Ceremony when they shave the Inca's head for the first time.

³⁷⁰ This is the term used in Harry B. Iceland's translation of Rostworowski's *History of the Inca Realm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Saya: Part or half. Usual way in which the populations of the Andes divide.

Sinchi: Warrior chief.

Suyo: Province, region, geopolitical division, land parcel.

Ushnu: Seat of power, made of solid gold.

Yachay Huasi: House of knowledge, university. Place where the Inca nobles were educated.

Yanacuna: Servant.

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